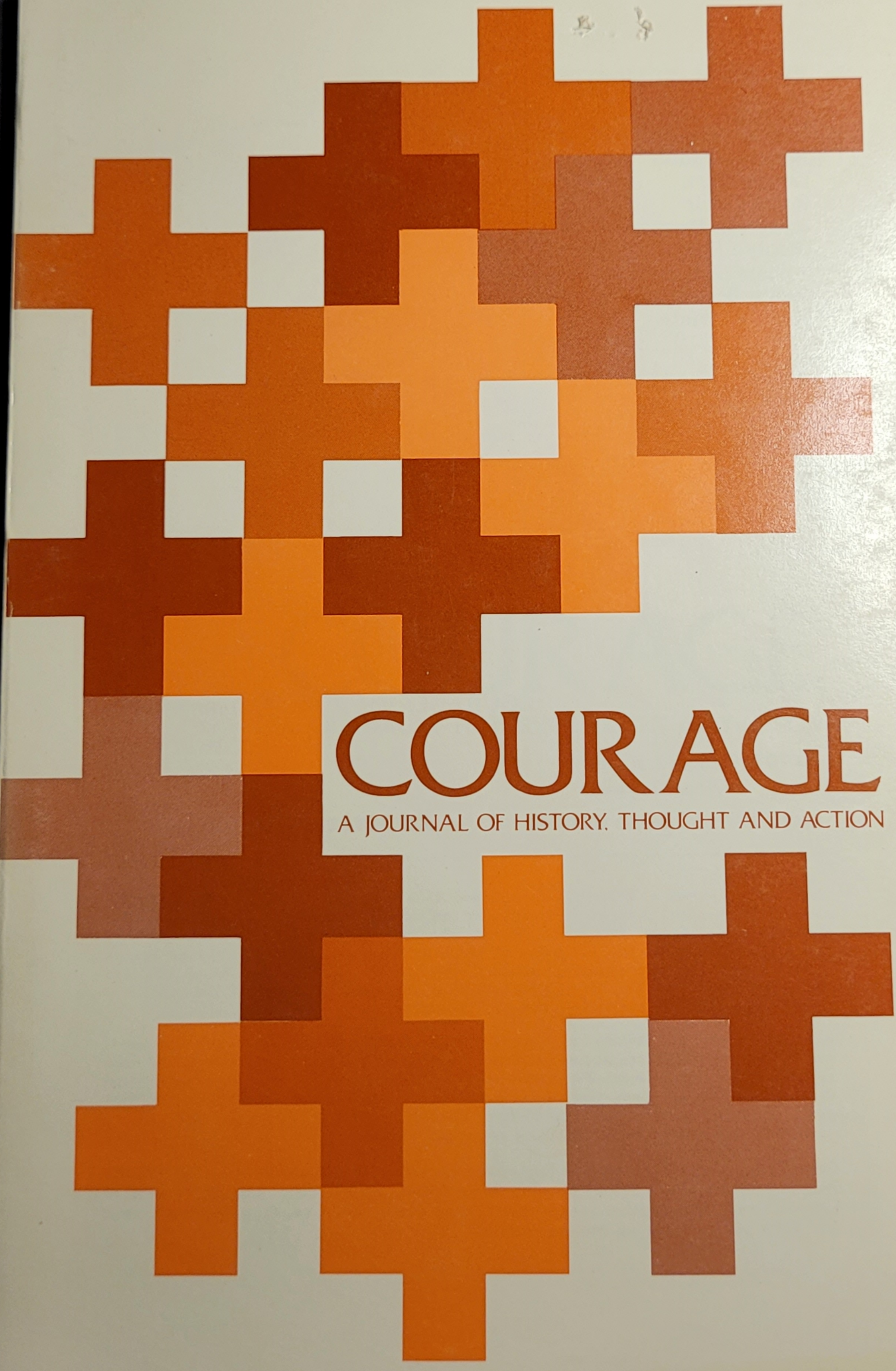

COURAGE

A JOURNAL OF HISTORY, THOUGHT AND ACTION

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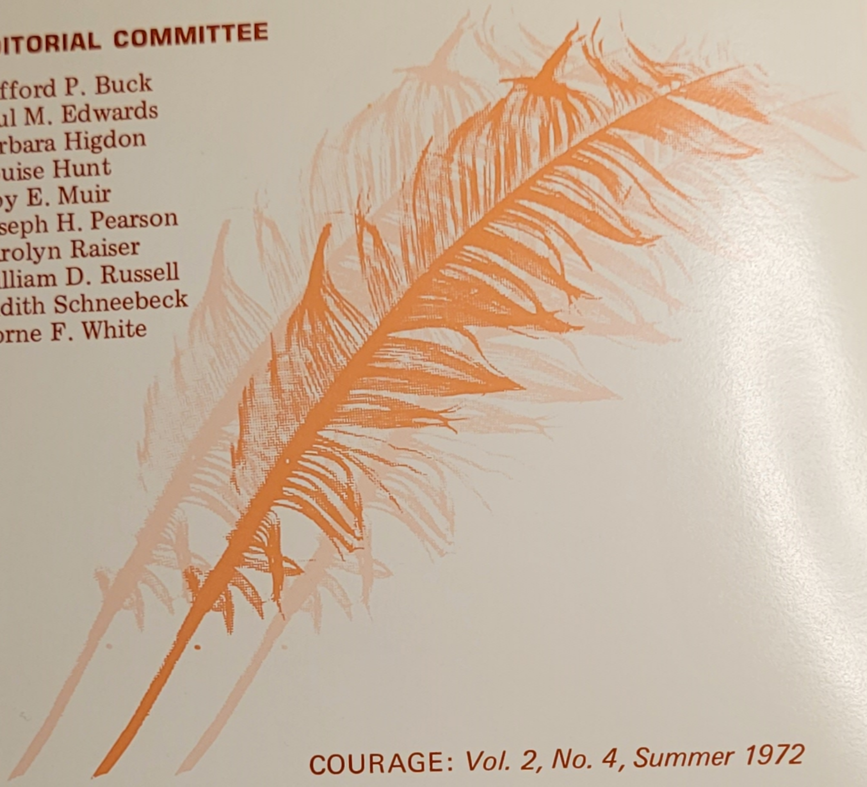

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EDITOR: Carolyn I. Raiser
William D. Russell

COPY EDITOR: Louise Hunt

ART DIRECTOR: Garry R. Hood

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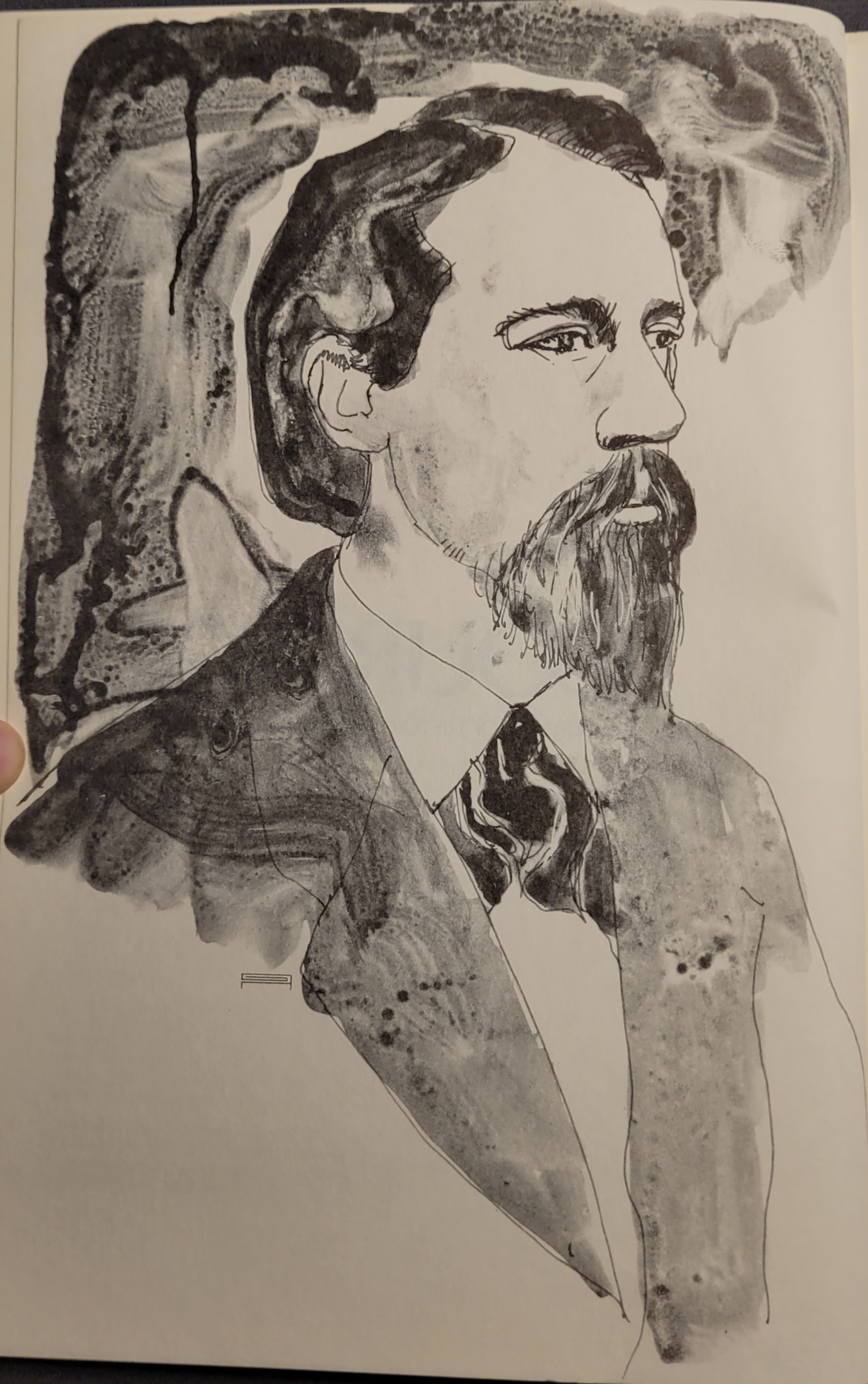

The Sweet Singer of Israel: David Hyrum Smith

Paul M. Edwards

Let me be happy too. Oh! Restless soul,
Fold thy quick limbs and rest from care a while;
Watch the great clouds in fleecy volumes roll;
The lakelet in the sunshine seems to smile;—
Would God my friends were here to share my thought,—
Would I could find the rest I long have sought.

Would I could speak the language of the hills
Would their plush velvet grace I could make known;
Could I translate the talking of the rills
That from their crowning dimples wander down,—
I would not sing, and yet I can not cease;
I can not murmur, yet I have no peace.[1]

Thus wrote David Hyrum Smith in December of 1870. It is a song of discontent, and so he labeled it. But perhaps more than that it is the effort of a simple and poetic man to make his voice heard among those who were unaffected by the great truths that nurtured his life.

There is little written and much less said about this young man who was the fifth living son of the martyred prophet, the youngest brother of Joseph Smith III—missionary, counselor, artist, poet—probably because he was, and is, an embarrassment to the Reorganization and minor in importance to the Latter-day Saints. His contribution is sketchily acknowledged and his illness treated with kind but firm respect. But in a movement with the tendency toward hero worship, there is surprisingly little interest in his life and thought or in his impact on the Reorganization movement, or even an acknowledgment of the fairly safe poetic and musical nature of his character.

This paper was anticipated as an introduction to the poetry, sketches, and paintings of David H. Smith, annotated by some analysis of the character and thinking of the man as indicated from his letters, first to his wife and then to his son. These works of art, letters, journals, as well as some unpublished partial essays, are owned by David's grandson, Lynn E. Smith of Independence, Missouri. This collection includes letters from the period of David's confinement; and, except for one or two prints of his Nauvoo painting, his collected poems, *Hesperis*, and a few scattered articles and sketches in the *Saints' Herald*, the complete primary clues to this man rest in the Lynn E. Smith collection.

Unfortunately, for reasons that can only be known by the family, though suspected by all of us, the final arrangements to use this material resulted in permission being withdrawn. This led this researcher to a vast treasure hunt seeking available information. But, with the exceptions of a brief account of his missionary work—and a statement of his illness—there is almost nothing said about him, anywhere. Inez Smith Davis, for example, does not see fit to mention him except in her listing of the counselors to Joseph III and in a side reference to the Utah trips. His name does not appear in the index, nor are his birth, ordination, or death listed among the chronological events of the Reorganized church.[2]

Thus, my objective has been to draw together doxographical information to introduce David Smith and some of his poetry to an audience sympathetic to the need for more historical investigation and biographical identification. I have been assured that his sketches, letters, and paintings will be available "in due time."

David Hyrum Smith was born in Nauvoo on 17 November 1844, some five months after the assassination of his father. The impact of this tragedy made its mark on the young man. Opportunities were few and David's education was limited, but he early indicated an almost unlimited interest in his environment. He was an avid reader and an artistically talented young man. Passionately fond of music, flowers, and people, his education was primarily self-created from these interests. When he was baptized into the Reorganization in October of 1861, the Montrose, Iowa, branch was informed that David was to be "one of our church pillars, for the Spirit says so."[3] John Shippy reported that young David was gaining fast "and will soon astonish the nations" with his music and poetry.

United with his brothers in Nauvoo, he grew in stature and in insight, taking on the physical characteristics of the Smiths and the attitudes of his older brother. His maturing years were spent during the great civil upheaval of our nation, but his participation was prevented by the vision of noninvolvement seen by his brother.[4] His connection with the Reorganization in these years seems firm if not too well worked out, and he wrote at Nauvoo in 1864 of other pressures.

Such voices come to all
And whisper softly in our inmost heart;
They bid us nobly stand, or weakly fall,
And ask us to endure, or give up all.
Say, shall we choose the good or evil part?

Answer, ye saints most dear,
And choose the good things of the Lord, our God;
Trusting in him to bring us help and cheer,
Nor let our righteousness forsake us here;
So shall we be with Christ—nor fear the rod.[5]

He was ordained a priest in March of 1863 and seven months later, at Council Bluffs, Iowa, received ordination as an elder. Following this, he was assigned to work in the Michigan and northern Indiana area, traveling often with either Joseph or Alexander.[6]

The Conference of 1869, meeting at St. Louis, optimistically appointed David and his older brother Alexander to Utah and the Pacific Slope to contact the "scattered saints" there. It was also expected that they would meet and exchange ideas with the leaders of the Utah church[7]—"to be conducted, on our part, in a frank and fearless, though kindly manner."[8] David started west early in the summer of 1869, arriving in Utah by October of that year.[9] Letters from Utah indicated increasing difficulty in developing meaningful communications with his cousins and with Brigham Young; but they also reported some acceptance of these "sons of the prophet, especially of David." Because Alexander was "otherwise occupied," David authored a series of articles in the *Herald* about his "experiences" at Salt Lake. These letters and accounts are filled with a surprisingly more than ordinary amount of homesickness and with descriptions of the countryside, the wildlife, and occasionally a detailed evaluation of the day. The brothers returned from their not too successful mission in March of 1870—Alexander, because of his wife's illness, and David "on account of being too incapacitated by illness for the field."[10]

Yet, in May of 1870, David was strong enough to marry eighteen-year-old Clara Charlotte Hartshorn at the home of her parents at Sandwich, DeKalb, Illinois. A son, Elbert Aoriul, was born at the mansion house in Nauvoo in March of the following year.[11] In that year (April 1871) at Plano, Illinois, David was ordained president of the Second Quorum of Elders and in that capacity labored as assistant editor of the *Herald* and in the church in the Fort Madison, Iowa, area.[12]

During the next two years, Alexander and David Smith served in the String Prairie and Nauvoo districts. They had considered another Utah trip at this time, but circumstances had prevented their going. While in Nauvoo, David was chosen president of the Olive Branch and was responsible for its reorganization.[13] At the annual conference of 1872 at St. Louis, the brothers were asked to make a second journey to Utah.[14] Later, Joseph indicated that this was an unwise decision and that the sensitive young man had taken on too much, and David's son, Elbert, suggested his father had returned to Utah without fully recovering from his bout with "brain fever." But David agreed to go—spent a month in Omaha on the way—then set out across the prairie, arriving in Utah in mid-July.[15] This second trip was less reported, but the brothers seem to have spent a great deal of their time with scattered groups of saints around Salt Lake, resulting in a variety of responses.

Soon after his return from Utah, David was called to the First Presidency of the Reorganization by a message, 3 March 1873, and was ordained at the conference.[16]

It was increasingly evident that David's health had weakened during his second mission to Utah, where he suffered a "severe attack of brain fever." Less than a year after his ordination, the *Herald* reported, "Brother Smith is ill again." Then again in April, "David is at Nauvoo where he will probably remain during the summer and fall . . . he seems to be recuperating."[17]

His illness continued to worsen. In July of 1874, Joseph editorialized that David had suffered "a partial relapse 'in his malady.' " He was "much disturbed mentally as well as bodily." David managed a visit to Lamoni in 1875, but his condition was obviously worsening. Later, he was reported taking part in the Rock Creek Branch meetings, but only as a listener, except for the singing which he still enjoyed. He was taken, early in 1876, to Alexander's farm home in Illinois to be allowed to rest. The purpose was partially to get him away from the pressures of church activity but also to put off any decisions until Joseph's return from his own Utah mission.[18]

Unfortunately, the illness did not decline during the resting period, and David became more and more of a problem to the community. He had developed the idea somehow that he was the director-owner of a large railroad company and would often slip into town sending numerous telegrams each day to various persons, all in the belief that he was conducting the business of his railroad. In 1876, when Joseph returned and discovered David was no better, he considered the need for permanent institutionalization. The efforts of the local people to secure this aided in the decision.

An inquiry was held at Yorkville, and, with little or no hesitation, a commitment order was authorized, and David was committed to the Illinois Hospital for the Insane on 10 January 1877. The period of his commitment was marked by the quiet that usually accompanies those things not understood; yet there were efforts made to determine the nature of his illness and many reasons were offered for his internment.

There had been considerable unrest over the direction of the Reorganization, much of this unrest centering around Joseph and suggesting that perhaps some other person might more aptly carry the mantle of leadership.

In 1869 *The Utah Daily Reporter* published an editorial entitled "The Son of the Prophet" which suggested that while many rejected the claim of "young Joseph" they were seemingly ready to follow David who, perhaps, looked more like one would expect a prophet to look.[19] Words of this kind and the suggestion that David was considered by many to be the obvious choice, had caused the young man to record his sentiments in these not too subtle verses as early as 1863:

Joseph is the Chosen Prophet
Well ordained in God's clear sight
Should he lose by his transgression
Alexander has the right.

Joseph, Alexander, David
Three remaining pillers still;
Like the three remaining columns
Of the Temple on the hill!

Joseph's star is full and shining
Alexander's more than mine;
Mine is just below the mountain
Bide its time and it will shine.

Joseph is the Chosen Prophet
Well ordained in God's clear sight
Should he lose by his transgression
Alexander has the right.

There seems to be little doubt, from this researcher's point of view, how young David saw himself in relation to his brother Joseph and to the cause which he led. David reaffirmed the support of his brother again in the pages of *The Utah Daily Reporter*, Sunday, 15 August 1869: "My free, willing, independent, unfaltering service, faith, countenance, aid and influence, I give to my brother, Joseph."

However, more than one person within the Reorganization, and many without, accused Joseph of "having his brother put away" for reasons that ranged from silencing his disloyalty to his trying to take over the church. Joseph made reference on several occasions to this feeling and assured the Reorganization that all possible was being done for his younger brother. The Mormon missionary, Edward Stevenson, visited David in September of 1895 and reported his visit to the *Deseret News.* He stated that David was well in body and went on to express a firm denial that the man was imprisoned because he favored Utah. The two men had gone for a brief walk together and managed rational and congenial conversation. Smith, he reported, had grown much heavier and grey but still carried himself well.

Writing in 1893, Joseph again spoke concerning his brother and appealed to the Saints to heed his comments. "All that was in our power to do was done; he was frequently prayed for, and many of the eldership were asked to, and did, administer to him as required in the law; all of which did not prevent the mental disturbance from culminating in losing the balance of a well-poised mind; the causes of which are to be conjectured only."[20]

Another theory was that David was poisoned while in Salt Lake City. Joseph, answering a letter to this effect in December of 1877, indicated that David was away from his regular boarding place in Salt Lake when his first attack occurred. Yet Joseph went on to report he did not wish to believe rumors of a poisoning, or of anything of that sort, and that no one knew anything about it.

On 4 June 1880, Joseph wrote to Dr. E. A. Kilbourne who was in charge of David's case. He indicated appreciation for the concern of the doctor and continued by expressing his sadness at the tragedy that befalls a man which causes him to become unbalanced. "There must be some subtle relation between the unseen and men, by which such disturbances are governed, produced and removed. O, that it were found. Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, with all their research of the primal man are no nearer this secret source of life. . . ."[21]

A later letter revealed something of the difficulty Joseph had had during those trying years. "I kept him till it was dangerous to *wife* and children, in the face of an antipathy he formed to my wife; and it was only when he interfered with the *Railway employees* and the *Harvester works* here that I was compelled to take him to Elgin."[22]

Years later, Joseph was to write in his account of the church that David had become associated with spiritualists in Salt Lake City and later in Malad, Idaho, when in that area in the 1870s. He felt that somehow this was connected with his concern over the manifestations of the spirit, which grew out of hand. "I am convinced," Joseph was to write, "that insidiously there was inculcated into my brother's mind the idea that his father was either a polygamist in practice or that he was the spiritual author of the Utah plural marriage philosophy."[23] Joseph continued to discuss the pressures brought on David, later acknowledging that "from my knowledge of his character I do not believe my brother had the power to resist such insidious teachings. . . ."

At the annual conference of 1885, held in Independence, considerable concern was expressed about David's condition, and interest was indicated about the role he would continue to play in the work of the church. The tenth day of April was set apart as a day of prayer and fasting for the improved condition of their ill counselor. Yet, on the eleventh, hardly allowing time for a cure, the move to sustain members of the quorum resulted in question concerning the continuation of David's position in the Presidency. Joseph was asked if any communication had been received on the subject. President Smith replied that "the Voice of the Spirit is that David H. Smith be released. He is," it continued, "in mine hands."[24]

There is little evidence of David's condition for the next seven years. On 4 February 1893, Joseph, who was then working at Kingston, Missouri, received a telegram which informed him of David's death. Joseph immediately went to Elgin and discovered that the wire had been sent as a result of mistaken identity. He used the visit, however, as an occasion to report that he found his younger brother safe and comfortable and in good health physically even though the malady of the mind continued to control his behavior. Continued inquiry by the Saints into the state of David's condition finally led Joseph to report a communication of patience he had received: "My servant David H. Smith is yet in my hand and I will do my will in the time of its accomplishment. Be not troubled or fearful in this matter for it shall be well for my work in the end."[25]

At a quarter to four in the afternoon of 29 August 1904, David Hyrum Smith died. The cause of his death was directly related, it was said, to his illness, termed as Melancholia Dementia. Notice of his death was registered in the 31 August *Herald*, and a small, close group met at Lamoni on 1 September for the funeral and burial at Rose Hill Cemetery. The announcement of his death to the people among whom he had worked indicated that while many expected interposition of divine providence, the hope was not shared by President Smith, who seemed "to foresee but one ending, the final release of death." While the church must mourn the loss of "so brilliant a man," it said, "it will be with chastened hearts and unshaken faith that we go forward."

The historian wears many hats, some more comfortable than others. At the risk of involving myself in a literary debate, I would like to don one such hat to suggest that poetry is a more primitive and a more natural form than the elaborate prose which is so common. Thus, it is a more natural form for a man who wishes to express emotions or to pronounce insights which are either extremely hard to identify or difficult to communicate. Except for our casual conversation, our prose depends on the fairly sophisticated development of an objective reality which is separated from the *Self.* It was just such a distinction which seems to have troubled David Hyrum Smith. It appears that he was trying to stretch his language to express the feelings that were within him, feelings which were as hard to identify as they were to separate—that is, objectify—to himself. These thoughts, not so well defined, perhaps, were more feelings than definitive statements and thus not to be expressed in the flowing prose of his brothers. Articulation, or more accurately, lack of it, was a factor in his poetry and music as well as in his artwork. In a very real sense, it can be said that for David Smith the medium was a major portion of the message. Thus one must be careful of the criticism, particularly of romanticism, that is leveled against him.

I entered into this study with the skepticism of a historian and with a healthy disrespect for nineteenth-century poetry. Yet, I would suggest that you learn from my experience—that if you have not looked into the distant mind of David Smith or felt the nagging loneliness of imprisoned thoughts searching for expression or the isolation of a separate reality—do not judge this mystical man too quickly.

A poet by nature as well as activity, there was early evidence that this sensitive member of a sensitive family felt the need to express some of the ideas and feelings that were being associated in his mind. Deeply moved by things beautiful, melancholy at times, yet strangely well-tempered and overflowing with humor, love, sympathy, and humility, he felt compelled to speak what was often unspoken.

During his association at Nauvoo, he discovered a place just back of the mansion house by a waterfall which formed a natural amphitheater overlooking the grassy slope and the water. There he would go and read and write and meditate—often spending long hours with his thoughts. This retreat, called "David's Chamber," was probably the inspiration for his best statement of his attachment to nature:

In every nook some sight of beauty wakes a tender thought;
Some flower blooming by some old gray stone;
Or tiny bird's nest with abundant skill and labor wrought;
Or faithful shadow over shining waters thrown.
The thickets darkly dense and still,
Where scarce the slender vine leaves thrill;—
Unbend, oh brow! and sad heart, take thy fill
Of rest, beside the lonely woodland path.[26]

Hesperis was published in 1875 on a small hand press during the period of decline leading to his last and permanent illness. It includes much of his work, mostly pastoral in nature, employing a rather consistent use of the dramatic monologue and a natural interest in strongly accented verse. It is an unfortunate and perhaps an unfair collection, for much of the young poet's works appear other places—*The Saints' Herald*, primarily—and this collection is not a valid representation. In addition, there is some evidence that David continued to write poetry after his commitment to the hospital for the mentally ill and that this poetry is still in existence. Unfortunately, these materials, as with his letters and paintings, are not available. *Hesperis* did save much of what was available, however; and, while as a whole I would not recommend it for light reading, there are some very interesting moods, ideas, and expressions that are worth noting. Something of his "frame of reference" can be drawn through an appeal to his written work. His deep feeling and involvement with nature served as his constant analogy, sometimes simply descriptive:

Between the trees, the green sward slopes away,
Barred with the sunshine, with the shadows crossed;
Where leaves, like flitting fingers, deftly play
A melody, when by the breezes tossed.

San Francisco, 1870[27]

Sometimes as reflective of his search for an endless life:

Though the waves of death flow o'er thee,
'Tis the rest that gathers power
For the endless life before thee;
Fear no dying;
Like the resurrection flower,
Death defying.

Salt Lake City, November 22, 1872[28]

Sometimes in the desperate urge to give permanence to a mood:

Now, gentle friend, release thy clinging hold;

The spray beads rest upon thy forehead cold;
The tide is ebbing out, and o'er its swell
I must away across the solemn sea. Farewell.

July 15, 1867[29]

While not taking himself all that seriously, he discusses his role as poet:

Then do not dream he means each line
A revelation of himself;
Sing of himself—conceit sublime!
You'd lay his book upon the shelf.
The preacher preaches righteousness;
The actor seeks to show each light
And shade of feeling, to express
Our thoughts and keep himself from sight.
Think of the Poet least and last,
And take his song for what 'tis worth.
An universal life he leads;
He lives in you, and many more;
From every field a flow'ret steals
And gleans a gem from every shore.[30]

Yet, early in 1872, probably in Iowa, he paused to reflect on the cognizance of his own changing character:

I turn unto my tasks with weary hands,
Grieving with sadness, knowing not the cause
Before my face a desert path expands,
I will not falter in the toil, nor pause;
Okay, my spirit somehow understands,
This mournful truth—I am not what I was.

Iowa, January, 1872[31]

A significant part of the poetic expression of David Smith was in the field of music, a passion that was noticeable in early youth. He was just eighteen when he attended a prayer service in October of 1863 at Manti, Iowa, with his brother Joseph; following a message from his older brother he rose to sing *The Pebble Has Dropped in the Water,* which went to the tune of *Faded Flowers.* This hymn holds a traditional role in the Reorganization. A few lines are enough to remind you:

Let us shake off the coals from our garments
And arise in the strength of our Lord
Let us break off the yoke of our bondage
And be free in the joys of the world.
For the pebble has dropped in the water
And the waves circle round with the shock—
Shall we anchor our barks in the center
Or drift out and be wrecked on the rocks. (1862)[32]

Known to many as "The Sweet Singer of Israel," David's powerful voice was often raised when other means of expression failed him. He wrote several hymns during his short, productive life, hymns which now occupy positions of importance for the contemporary Reorganization despite the fact that some are so traditional as to be meaningless. Among these are several which are in the current *Hymnal:* "A Calm and Gentle Quiet" (66); "Let Us Pray for One Another" (98); "Worldly Cares a Moment Leave Us" (99); and "You May Sing of the Beauty" (280)—the latter being an interesting example of his style:

You may sing of the beauty of mountain and dale
Of the silvery streamlet and flowers of the vale
But the place most delightful this earth can afford
Is the place of devotion, the house of the Lord.

There are other hymns which through numerous editions and printings have been excluded; "The Saints Shall Wear Robes as the Lilies," "We Come with Joy the Truth to Teach You," the "Hymn for Confirmation," and the melancholy "The Unknown Grave" which appears in the Mormon publications.

His musical talent was recognized and used by the church on many occasions. He was directly involved in numerous music committees and played an important role in collecting material for the *Saints' Harp* and was indirectly related to the movement which resulted in the 1889 publication of the *Saints' Harmony.*[33]

As a painter and artist we can say little, for the one or two works that remain at large are not sufficient to judge. Certainly his works have some historical value in terms of restoration projects such as the one being accomplished at Nauvoo. His sketches are fairly common, for he left them with friends throughout the church, and they have been saved. It was true as his mother once remarked, "that he leaves sketches of flowers everywhere he goes."

The role of this young man as poet and artist awaits more formal analysis, as does the history of his life and his contribution. These brief comments are intended only to interest those more qualified to seek some insight into the life and thought of a man, torn by internal conformation, who felt he had a message but who could only write:

I would not sing, and yet I can not cease
I can not murmur, yet I have no peace.

Reprinted from Brigham Young University Studies, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Winter, 1972), pp. 171-184. By permission. Paul Edwards is chairman of the Division of Social Science at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa.

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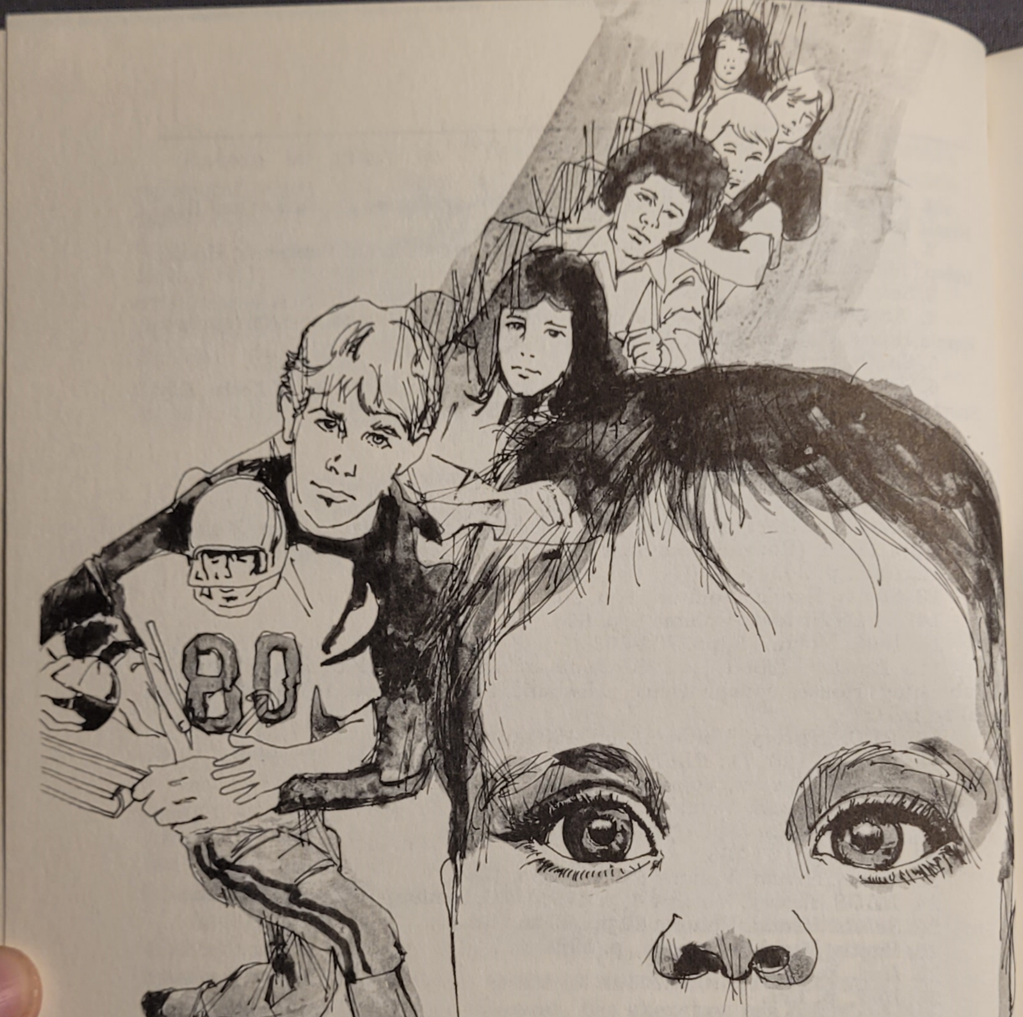
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Respond to your Potential

Frederick A. Kunz

The forces which impinge on the individual as a member of society constitute in their totality an exceedingly strong barrier against the use of potential.

Langston Hughes, a black poet of distinction, has written:

> What happens to a dream deferred?
> Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?
> Fester like a sore and run?
> Maybe it just sags like a heavy load.
> Or does it explode?

Paraphrasing this, "What happens to potential deferred?" Potential is the sum of the capacities and qualities in every individual which haven't been brought out and actualized. It is said that most individuals operate on only 5 percent of their potential. Some operate on 10 percent and a very few on 15 percent. What a lot of raisins drying in the sun! Deferred, unknown, hidden potentials, just sagging—like a heavy load.

If most human potential is so tremendous, why do most of us operate only on 5 to 10 percent of that potential? The forces which impinge on the individual as a member of society constitute in their totality an exceedingly strong barrier *against* the use of potential. We need to take a very careful look at some of these impeding factors.[1]

One social institution determining in part the functioning of individual potential is the educational system of our society. At every level our educational system lacks a systematic and continuous effort to help the students to know themselves or to give them any insights into the workings of their personalities or of their minds. This omission to provide the growing personality with self-understanding represents education's most serious failure, for it prevents students from achieving wholeness of being and the optimum functioning of which they are capable. The educational system through which you passed neglected your potential. It is neglecting and suppressing the potential of our children by inducing conformity and psychological rigidity with twelve to sixteen years of conditioning to authoritarianism. It has become for most of us one of those "outside" authorities which determine the recognition and use of individual potential.

The church is also one of the social institutions which tend to keep people from using their potential in various ways. A recent comprehensive study of the relationship between belief and behavior[2] led to this conclusion: "The churches, [talking about all Christian denominations] while being able to have considerable impact on their membership, seem limited to inducing frequent prayer, improving attendance, the giving of money and concern about personal salvation, but somehow have apparently failed to induce much sense of responsibility towards one's fellow man." Another study[3] by T. E. Jacobs of values held by college students revealed that the devout are no more sympathetic than others toward public action to advance human welfare. Actually, he found in this study that the less religious were more humanitarian and more concerned about social injustice and misery.

The church, then, does not extend sufficient concrete help in dealing constructively with the value conflicts which people encounter daily in the course of living. The church reinforces and fosters authoritarian patterns of functioning. These, in turn, heighten dependence, foster conformity, limit initiative and independent thinking, and lead to the unquestioning acceptance of priesthood and of institutional structure.

Is it not the mission of the church in the world to help its members concretely with the overwhelming problems inherent in bringing their fundamental values and convictions to bear upon their conduct toward all people? Is it not the church's unique function to explore fearlessly the meaning, dimension, and direction of existence? Ought not the church as an institution offer people a place in which they can make some progress in their search to understand themselves in relation to God?[4]

Finally, of those institutions which tend to limit human potential, I wish to mention, of course, the family. It is the responsibility of the family uniquely (for no one else takes this responsibility) to provide for the "nurturance" of the individuals within it. And by nurturance I mean the physical, emotional, and spiritual life of the individuals who make up the family. To the extent that a family fails in its nurturing, whether it is in spiritual development or in emotional development or in physical development, to that extent the family has limited the potential of the individual.

In his book, *Man for Himself*, Erich Fromm[5] suggests a concept of what he terms the unproductive personality and the productive personality. The unproductive personality is the result of an individual's trying to maintain relationships that are characteristic of his or her security-giving authorities. Education, the church, and the family are three important authorities in our social structure. They determine for us what kind of relationships we shall live out. It is true that we feel secure when someone tells us what to do and we don't have to make up our own minds to do it. When education tells us that we must conform to a certain process of learning or we must learn in a particular way, it functions as a security-giving authority. Or even when the church fails to tell us what it *means* when it says "everybody ought to love Jesus," when it fails to tell us what that love really is and how we can live it out so that it becomes a part of our relationships with other individuals, we still have security because someone else—someone outside ourselves—has told us that we ought to love Jesus. Hence, the unproductive personality is the result of individuals trying to maintain relationships characteristic of their security-giving authorities. Such personalities tend to be separated from their real selves by these outside authorities and are no longer in touch with their own feelings.

On the other hand, the productive personalities have learned the security which stems from their ability to love another person because they have freed themselves from those authorities which make them feel guilty or conforming or anxious. Such individuals have learned to have a healthy respect for their own human dignity and they are thus able to develop some self-love. They become self-reliant and their human interactions are based upon respect for the dignity of every person. They are supportive, warm, and outgoing individuals.

I contend that culturally determined sex roles which shape the masculine, feminine patterns of behavior ("This is what a man does and this is what a woman does") are prominent among those outside authorities which tend to separate us from our real selves.

In our society we very early begin to distinguish between the male and the female roles. The first concern we have about a newborn child is its gender. From then on, we tend to indoctrinate, to press for conformity so that the child's feelings, attitudes, and behavior will match the stereotyped, culturally determined sex role. We play roughly with baby boys so they will react in kind. We have boy's clothes and boy's talk and boy's toys and boy's patterns of reaction. We say, "Boys don't cry," and "Boys throw a ball this way." Girls, likewise, receive training particularly "feminine." We say, "Don't shout like that. Be ladylike. Sit with your legs crossed. Don't pick your nose." And a host of other things. The older the youngster becomes, the more differentiated the role. And the pressure for conformity is most extreme.

Margaret Mead in her book, *Male and Female*,[6] points out just how important all this is in our culture. "Because primary sex differences are of such enormous importance, most children take maleness and femaleness as their first identification. They never learn that they are really people. They are either a boy or a girl. . . . So the child, experiencing itself, is forced to reject such parts of its particular biological inheritance as conflict sharply with its sex stereotypes." Can you see how this limits potential? Can you see how these are outside authorities—these sex stereotyped roles that are a part of our culture? Any deviation is greatly frowned upon and the deviate made to feel miserable and insecure.

The effect of masculine dominance and the resultant expectations of both men and women for each other is as old as time itself. In spite of the so-called emancipation of women, they are still at a great disadvantage in our culture. In many respects it is a man's world—made by and for men. Thus, men and women must fit into this world by playing the sex stereotyped roles that an authoritarian society imposes—roles that separate us from our true selves, our impulses, interests, talents, and inclinations that do not fall within the expected patterns. In the American culture gender invites discrimination. Therefore, it is necessary to learn to respond to the person, not to the gender.

Although some noticeable gains have been made with regard to the status of women, the prevailing social attitudes still define them as inferior members of the species. And since these attitudes have social sanction, they deeply undercut women's self-image and act as a deterrent in the development of their potentialities.

Men in our culture tend to depersonalize women. There are some reasons, justifiable or not, for this. Research indicates, first of all, that there are more males conceived than females, but less carried to term. Males are more susceptible to childhood diseases. Girls excel and surpass boys in all developmental achievements and intellectual capacities except feats of physical strength until a boy is about 15 or 16 years of age, and then he begins to catch up.

Because men, as boys, were disciplined by women, taught by women, raised by women until they got to be teen-agers, most of them feel that they've had it and that they must, somehow or other, get even. A man is anxious because he has to prove his maleness. Nearly everything he does has the essence of a test or examination and there is always the anxiety of failing. As a result of man's fear of failing, he tends to have a wish for prestige. And one way he gets to feel important is by belittling someone else. Who better than those individuals who have threatened and controlled him all of his early life, namely women? He is constantly driven to prove himself to the woman he loves and to all other women and to all other men in order to live up to what is expected of him.

Certainly not all of man's craving for prestige and competitiveness of a social and cultural nature is the result of his particular sexual role, but sexual role definitely colors it. A man is very sensitive, we are told, to ridicule, particularly from women. This, coupled with his already precarious position in relation to her, results in his hatred of her. And he needs, he thinks, to dominate her, have power over her, to make her feel weak and inferior so he need not be afraid of her. We have this old business of the battle of the sexes because of this threat to a man's masculinity, because he stands in fear of the threat of a woman's ridicule.

Psychoanalytic literature also suggests that there is in man a scarcely conscious wish to be a woman. It appears that the need to constantly demonstrate his maleness is a burden he would be free of if he only could. It has also been suggested by some that man envies a woman's capacity to bear children and to be physically creative. These are some of the reasons why women have difficulty in realizing their potential in a man's world, because men have created it as a protection against what they feel as a very real threat. And we can understand, in part, whether we accept it or not, that some of the behavior we see in men—their treatment of women in the labor market, for example, and other instances of unequal treatment—is the result of some of the things I have mentioned. Might it not be a part of every women's potential to be aware of some of these causative factors?

In a democracy we believe that when people are free they can express their own best potentials. But what is a free person? An individual with a full stomach? One without problems? One with no pressures? One who is free to do as he or she pleases? When such things as these are achieved people are still no more than vegetables. Freedom to be is not enough. We need freedom to become. But what can we become? Psychologists, sociologists, educators, humanitarians have been asking these questions for a generation now. The best of their studies seem to show that highly free people see themselves as liked, wanted, acceptable, able, dignified, worthy, and loveable. Because they feel this way about themselves, they have a deep feeling of personal security. Moreover, feeling that they are people of dignity and worth, they tend to behave as though they were. Indeed, it is this factor of how individuals see themselves that determines the kind and quality of response they make to their potential and to others.[7]

Your stewardship can be your response to creating tomorrow, a tomorrow freed from those social authorities that I have talked about that kill potential. It can be your response to self-regeneration with a study of who and what you are and what you can do. Stewardship can be your response to your individual potentiality.

> What happens to [potential] deferred?
>   Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?
> Fester like a sore and run?
> Maybe it just sags like a heavy load.
> Or does it explode?

An explosion, terrible as it may seem, is a trifle compared with the bombs that can burst inside your heart.

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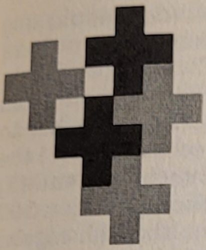


Conference 1972: An Opinion

Barbara Mesle

Admittedly, the polarities in the church are a reality and a problem, but a lot of the tension in this particular session could have been avoided.

Progress seems relative not only to the past but also to personal perspective. In comparison to 1954 when the body literally debated for days on the burning issue of whether to encourage or discourage the use of the title "reverend" and ended up tabling the motion and in comparison to the sense of discouragement many felt at the 1968 and 1970 World Conferences captured in Joe Pearson's now-famous phrase, "The church *almost* shows social concern," the 1972 Conference was definitely progress.

I was less tempted to rejoice, however, as I talked with people who had never attended Conference prior to 1972 and had nothing to compare it with, and as I looked about me in the Auditorium press box, trying to empathize with the disbelief that non-RLDS must experience upon first contact with our legislative sessions. Almost embarrassed, I became painfully aware, for example, of how the presiding officers manipulated business, of how our abuses of parliamentary procedure ironically paralyzed us in ascertaining the will of the majority, of how our past tradition limits us, and of how bound we are to "what our people are ready for." Perhaps this perspective is also one by which the 1972 Conference needs to be judged. In any case, we have a long way to go according to anyone's standards.

However, it is not my intention to deprecate our achievement. In my opinion there were numerous minor triumphs. Examples, in no particular order, are (1) the passage of the full budget of the controversial Christian Education Department; (2) the allocation of $15,000 to the Sanitarium's center for drug problems, VD, and alcoholism instead of to the Headquarter's Office Building for which it had originally been earmarked; (3) the approval of a women's opportunity statement which carried a provision that more women be appointed, hired, and nominated for nonpriesthood positions; (4) announcements that appointees will be transferred less often, substantially reducing the moving expenses which have previously occupied disproportionate amounts of the budget; (5) hints from President Smith that he would consider being the first prophet to retire should his age or health make such a move seem wise; (6) the decision to use youth on councils and boards of the church; and (7) the decision that any further consideration of replacing Section 107 in the Doctrine and Covenants would have to come through regular channels just as any new document would.

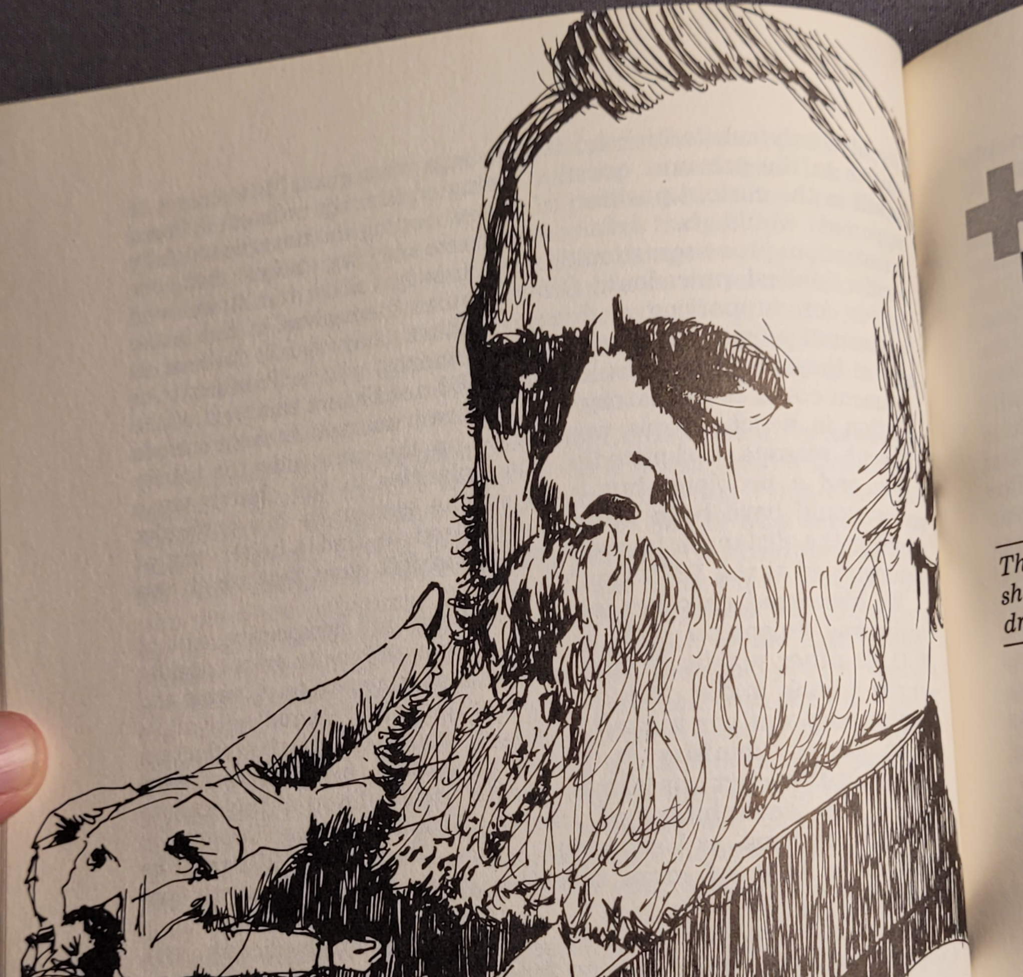
I consider the major triumph of the Conference to be its struggle with the issue of what it means to be a world church instead of a denomination which bases its identity on being “non-Utah Mormon.” Given our history of generations of Saints who devoted their lives and energies to deferentiating between themselves and those who practiced polygamy, the violent emotions which surfaced over the Council of Twelve’s policy allowing baptisms of polygamous persons in East India is more comprehensible. While many church members continued to vehemently lament this policy, I felt that the vast majority of those “in the middle” grappled with the real issue of cultural difference involved. This issue became clear in the Council of Twelve’s report when the absurdity of the Saints in India determining the patterns of conduct for the church members in America was suggested. The body passed as revelation the document which included the statement, “. . . there are also those who are not of this fold to whom the saving grace of the gospel must go. When this is done the church must be willing to bear the burden of their sin, nurturing them in the faith, accepting that degree of repentance which it is possible for them to achieve. . . .” Most left with a sounder identity base and more solid concept of world church.

I am concerned, however, about the methods by which this progress was accomplished and about those on both ends of the theological spectrum who were disillusioned in the process. The prophetic vision which the quoted statement illustrates seems to a large degree indicative of the theological insight which the top echelons of church leadership have increasingly displayed in the last decade. The resulting gap between them and the membership was particularly conspicuous at Conference 1972, especially in relation to debate on the document. While I wholeheartedly support the developing philosophy of the church hierarchy, their methods of filtering it down to the masses leave a little to be desired. Two approaches seem common. They either pretend that no gap exists and claim that “hardly anyone believes that anymore”—which tends to dodge the issue—or they tend, probably unintentionally, as in debate on the document, to make people feel this philosophy is almost crammed down their throats. To illustrate, the document was not printed and people had to vote on something that was not before them to read; President Smith asked that the document not be split up for referral or deferral without giving his reasons—when dissent was obviously substantial; hostile feelings were given little chance to air due to the previous question being constantly ordered. I found myself in the curious position of almost hoping the document I fully supported would be deferred because of my belief that our canonization processes should more closely follow the slower and sounder biblical precedent. Others found themselves in the ironic position of supporting a document that they didn't believe in because not to do so impuned the authority of the Presidency or because they supported the calls and did not believe that part of the document could be revelatory while the rest was not. It was a curious situation in which people were often on the same side for totally different reasons. Admittedly, the polarities in the church are a reality and a problem, but a lot of the tension in this particular session could have been avoided. We need to find a better way of reducing the distances between right and left than that which was demonstrated at the 1972 Conference.

We blundered on other issues too. From my perspective, lack of insight was shown on such issues as in our failure to even consider IFCO, or other substitute motions pending in regard to it, peace and war resolutions, in our decision to adopt the title "Saints" with all its negative connotations instead of RLDS, and in our drastic reduction of the campus ministry budget. Realistically, many factors were involved in these actions—time, money, the readiness of the body to change, the advisability of heated debate on the Conference floor—but perhaps, as I suggested earlier, Conference 1972 must be evaluated in light of more objective perspectives than these considerations.

The week was a complex, multifaceted, contradictory one. Certainly we both succeeded and failed. . . . Some mystics claim their experiences have greater verisimilitude if they are contradictory to the individuals' wishes or expectations. Contrary to mine, I found myself caught up in the spirit of Conference 1972—I found myself caring. If such an experience happened to others, perhaps that says a lot. . . . But we can and must do better.

Barbara Mesle graduated with honors from Graceland College in June, with a major in English.



The Haun's Mill Massacre

A. R. Blair

This is a world where men will die for their fondest dreams; we should not forget that men will sometimes also kill for those same dreams.

It may be that the events which took place here on October 30, 1838, are beyond our understanding. There are times when imagination is challenged beyond its capacity to respond, even when we stand on the ground of the events themselves. Here at Haun's Mill nature has conspired to hide from us the past we would re-create. We do not know where most of the houses or tents stood. We must be tentative on the site of the mill and blacksmith shop. We hardly dare guess at the location of the well which became a mass grave. It is almost as if nature thought to blot out the obscenity of this massacre.

The earth's wounds are long healed, but we know history is not to be found in the remains of old log cabins or the stone foundations of a mill even when we can uncover them. Rather, history is to be found in the memory of mankind. Part of our remembrance of the Haun's Mill massacre is simple to reconstruct, but part of it is as complex as humanity itself. And our remembering is infused with pain.

Jacob Haun's mill was one of several scattered along Shoal Creek. For about a year it had been the home of 15 to 20 families of Saints. Other church members in the area used it for grinding their grain and it had become a stopping place for those migrating to Caldwell County from Kirtland. Although few Saints had settled in Livingstone or Carroll counties to the east, and although the mill was inside Caldwell County, it was close to the borders and threatened to become a center for the Mormon population that might spill over into gentile territory.

Tension had built in Livingstone during October and the county militia had been called out. Two companies especially were active in trying to turn back migrants from Kirtland and in patrolling the borders adjoining Caldwell. The battle of Crooked River, fought October 25, raised fears among the Saints in eastern Caldwell County and several families gathered to Haun's Mill for protection. The group considered but decided against going to Far West at that time. The Saints at Haun's Mill had had no previous difficulties with the gentiles and reached an agreement on October 28 with the militia group under Captain Nehemiah Comstock stationed near Mooresville and Utica to preserve the peace. The Mormons then removed their pickets but reestablished them after learning of another militia company operating about 14 miles directly east of the mill. Under the leadership of Captain David Evans, the Saints devised the plan of using the blacksmith shop as a fort and felt that they could hold off any group likely to attack them. They had not considered that they might have to face a vastly superior force.

It is not clear why the gentile militia decided to attack Haun's Mill at this particular time. Daviess County men had been talking to those from Livingstone describing real or fancied Mormon injustices perpetrated against them. The "Extermination Order" issued by Governor Boggs on October 27 was now widely known and the state militia was beginning to move against Far West. These factors may have been decisive. The several companies of Livingstone militia were formed into a battalion under the leadership of Colonel Thomas Jennings. The decision to attack the settlement was made October 29 at Woolsey's farm about ten miles northeast of Haun's Mill. Jennings and his force of about 200 men left after noon October 30 and rode south to within several miles of the mill. They dismounted and marched across the open prairie to the woods just north of the mill and filtered through the trees.

Captain Evans had withdrawn the pickets that had been stationed in the woods the previous day but was apparently planning to set them out again that evening. The attack came about 4:00 p.m. without warning. Some of the Saints at first thought the approaching men were reinforcements from Far West. With the opening volley of shots the hamlet was thrown into confusion. Evans waved his hat and shouted for "quarter." He was not heard, but it is doubtful if peace would have been given anyway. The women and children scattered, some of the men ran for the woods and safety. Those who got to the blacksmith shop found it to be a trap since they could be fired upon through the large cracks between the logs and they were so crowded inside they were easily hit. When they tried to flee from the building they were again fired upon and only a few, most of them wounded, managed to get to the woods where they hid until that night.

Seventeen Saints,* all men and boys, died that day or in the following weeks. One woman was injured; some men were hacked to death by corn knives after they had been wounded. Thomas McBride, a 78-year-old man, was wounded, then shot with his own rifle as he surrendered, and was finally hacked by his murderer. Ten-year-old Sardius Smith was deliberately killed as he tried to hide and nine-year-old Charles Merrick suffered with his wounds for five weeks before he died. The Missourians had three men wounded who were taken away in wagons stolen from the Saints. Jennings' men stayed for less than two hours and then returned to Livingstone County.

The Saints slowly gathered themselves together during the night, tended to the wounded as best they could, and wept for the dead. The following day the bodies were slid into a partially dug well and lightly covered with dirt. Later that day Comstock's men returned to bury the dead and warn the remaining Mormons they must leave the state immediately. After the surrender of Far West and Adam-ondi-ahman, Comstock's company was assigned to Haun's Mill where it remained until the Saints migrated to Illinois.

Those are the things we can know. What we can never be certain of, perhaps, is why it all happened. What kind of men were these? What forces moved in their souls that they could commit such outrage upon other humans? The answers we have sometimes given are clear in their attribution of innocence and guilt. Perhaps we have condemned too easily. At any rate, it is easier to assign guilt than to account for the "whys" of history.

It would be foolish and dangerous for us to place the Missourians outside the human race, to account for this massacre as the actions of a devil-infested, particularly depraved species. The same man who seconds before had hacked Father McBride to pieces gently told Olive Ames, crouching with her children under a riverbank, that she was safe and would not be harmed! We know we all are capable of bestiality, but this was not an attack motivated by the lust to kill. It was too selective, too well planned for that.

Undoubtedly economic considerations entered into their minds, but Haun's Mill cannot be explained by recounting the animals, wagons, clothes, and grain taken by the Missourians that day and in the months that followed. They did not think to profit much from the land, the homes, or the mill. Nor can we be satisfied that political issues were the primary motivations, especially not for those from Livingstone County. Such explanations fall short, important though they may be, for we must remember that Haun's Mill is connected with larger events and larger causes. Our explanations must deal with similar events in Far West, Adam-ondi-ahman, Clay County, Jackson County, Kirtland, New York, and later in Nauvoo.

Those immediate factors of personal ambition and group greed are but the names given to a nameless fear that churned deep inside the attackers. They feared these people who were somehow different, who thought and acted in ways that were not their ways. At some point, each of those who marched had passed from the rational thought that the "Mormons" were also human to the irrational thought that the "Mormons" were not truly "people." Their fear had crystallized and they could do anything, even kill, to rid themselves of the *terror* that was peacefully grinding its grain on the banks of Shoal Creek that sunny afternoon. The attackers did not think of how they were violating a truce or invading the Saints' own country. They did not want the Saints' goods; they did not even want their lives. They were beyond such calculations and moved in the great mystery of the myth of "We" against "Them." At such a point all defensive or humane acts of the "enemy" seem devilish and insincere. At such a point all things "We" do are right and necessary. So these several hundred Missourians—husbands, fathers, sons—marched calmly and righteously through the woods to kill those they "had" to kill.

Nor were the Saints free from this mob psychology that is also personal. For some of them fear had also crystallized. Their reason had become servant of their emotions. We see it in those Saints who swore secret oaths to follow their leaders even to the "despoiling of the gentiles" for the sake of the kingdom. We see it in the speeches and in the intolerant acts directed toward those within the faith as well as those outside. We see it as the Saints despaired of legal processes and marched against the enemy to destroy them. We see it in those at Haun's Mill who believed their righteousness would enable them to hold off any enemy force.

The cause of the Saint's fear-hate reaction is to be found, in part, in the fact that they had been pushed too far for too long. We cannot blame them or absolve them. However, we need to understand the effects of another fact. Both Saints and gentiles believed themselves to be a "chosen people." To be such a people in our historical conception of ourselves, to feel called to defend a special gospel, is always dangerous. Even without persecution the Saints believed in their uniqueness and too often flaunted their peculiar relationship with God. When Methodist and Baptist ministers led the opposition to them, the Saints took this as sign of their own righteousness and evidence of the wickedness of their tormentors. It was neither.

For their part, the gentiles felt their own sure calling to abolish the "delusion of Mormonism and Joe Smith." The fruit of the tree, when nurtured under tension, was the Haun's Mill massacre.

We must look to our myths, even our sacred myths, and beware lest our unconscious acceptance of them become the means whereby we betray their highest promises. We who are called to become Saints must never confuse that call with what we presently are. We who are called to learn truth must never forget our own guilt, or the innocence of those who are guilty. This is a world where men will die for their fondest dreams. We should not forget that men will sometimes also kill for those same dreams.

We may not find the rotting timbers here that would mark the outlines of old houses. We may find that which marks us as part of humankind. As we consider the events that took place here, we may become more than tolerant. Perhaps we can learn humility.

Bibliographical Note

Two difficulties confront the historian in trying to reconstruct the Haun's Mill massacre. The first is the usual problem of determining the facts of such items as how many persons were at the mill, how large the attacking force was, and what exactly happened.

A more serious problem surrounds the reasons for the attack. The Saints who wrote at the time were so shocked and so angered at Missouri that they usually wrote of little more than the horrors of the incident. To them no explanation was necessary beyond that of the depravity of the Missourians. The attackers, who apparently wrote little, returned the compliment. Even the judicious account compiled in 1887 by Major Reburn S. Holcombe, writing under the pen name "Burr Joyce," is of little help in suggesting reasons for this seemingly senseless act.

The sources mentioned here are certainly not exhaustive. Certain accounts, notably that of Joseph W. Young and Nathan K. Knight, are found in several places either in full or as extracts. However, these sources do give most of the major nineteenth century statements on the massacre:

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*A gentile named Walker, not in the militia, was also killed in this attack apparently.

A. R. Blair is an associate professor of history at Graceland College. This paper was read to the Mormon History Association at Haun's Mill on April 15, 1972.

EDITORIALS

NONPRIESTHOOD DELEGATES AT WORLD CONFERENCE

Events at the last Saints' World Conference clearly indicated the precarious position of nonpriesthood delegates to such a conference with respect to their right to participate in important discussion and help make major decisions. Two kinds of actions illustrated that precariousness. To begin with, only the thoughtfulness of President Smith made possible the presentation of his inspired document to the nonpriesthood members at delegate sessions. Such action was a departure from tradition, in which nonpriesthood delegates have officially been able to study inspired documents only after they have been brought to the conference floor. In contrast, priesthood members have traditionally had the opportunity to somewhat study and discuss purported revelations in council, quorum, and order meetings and have had the opportunity to report the decisions of their groups to the conference body. The assumption in the past seems to have been that nonpriesthood delegates were incapable of dealing with inspired messages until after the priesthood groups had given them the word via their reports to the conference body. This assumption is most unflattering to nonpriesthood delegates.

The other kind of action also does not speak well for how some people evidently measure the responsibleness of nonpriesthood delegates. This action dealt with motions which made an attempt to refer things back to priesthood groups for further study and consideration. For example, a motion was made concerning the inspired document which would have referred a paragraph of the document to a general assembly of the high priesthood and its orders and quorums of seventy, with their report to be made at the 1974 World Conference. This motion failed. Again, however, the assumption underlying such a motion seems to be that only priesthood members can deal most effectively with these issues.

As the Saints' Church gets over some of its more naive worship of priesthood authority and begins to seriously consider the role of the nonpriesthood member and how he or she can also participate effectively in the discussion, decision-making, and administrative bodies of the church, we may be able to overcome these unflattering assumptions and allow nonpriesthood delegates at World Conference to have access to inspired documents so that they, too, can study the documents and report to the conference floor. The beginnings of such action at the last conference certainly seem a step in the right direction. We may also want to organize bodies around something other than priesthood in order to make provisions for always including nonpriesthood members in groups to which the conference refers matters.

Surely, fuller participation of nonpriesthood delegates at conference is too weighty a matter to let rest upon the personal preferences of one person or any one conference body. For although the rights of nonpriesthood delegates to take part in fairly important discussion and decisions were acknowledged by the President and the 1972 Conference, that may not always be true in the future. It has not always been true in the past.

Carolyn I. Raiser

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WOMEN AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

The Democratic convention in Miami Beach ought to have reminded Latter-day Saints of the issue of the role of women in the decision-making processes in the church. Nearly 40 percent of the delegates were women, while the last convention was 87 percent male.

The candidacy of Shirley Chisholm for President and Francis (Sissy) Farenthold for Vice-President, while only symbolic gestures were still very important. The party also selected Jean Westwood as its chairperson, the first woman ever to chair a major political party in America.

Bella Abzug, when interviewed on NBC-TV, stated that the idea of equal involvement of women in politics is coming so fast that by 1976 it will seem so normal that it will be hardly noticed. Let's hope Ms. Abzug is right, and our society has altered its views in this way by 1976. If so, what will this mean for the church if its leadership is still male-dominated and its priesthood exclusively male? It will seem terribly anachronistic and chauvinistic, I am afraid.

The recent action of the RLDS World Conference on the role of women in the Church, seems to me to be too little, too late. It did not deal at all with the question of priesthood, yet the major decisions are made at all levels of the Church by this all-male group. If in the next four years or so our society has come to recognize the absurdity of all-male governing bodies, our position (if unchanged) will seem just as discriminatory as the denial of priesthood to black people by the Utah Latter-day Saints. The two situations seem to me to be virtually identical and both are positively untenable.

The scriptures do not explicitly prohibit women in the priesthood. The only obstacle is custom. But at the present time there are few, if any, local pastors who would dare to initiate such a call, even if they felt a particular woman should be called. In the Reorganized Church the most logical way to get the ball rolling is for the hierarchy to make the first move by calling someone of the female sex to a high office. Such a move by the top leadership would then clear the way for the ordination of women at all levels, and their selection as pastors, district presidents, and General Church appointees.

Women will not have taken their rightful place in the church until the time comes when it will seem quite normal for women to be in the First Presidency and Presiding Bishopric, and six or seven women in the Council of Twelve. In the near future an all-male priesthood will even more seriously impair the success of the church.

William D. Russell

CLARE VLAHOS WINS "COURAGE" AWARD

We are pleased to announce that Clare D. Vlahos, a graduate student in theology at the University of Iowa, won the first annual award for the best article on Mormon history in *Courage*. The period covered was the Pilot Issue (April 1970) and the four quarterly issues of Volume I (1970-71).

The winning article was entitled, "The Challenge to Centralized Power: Zenas H. Gurley, Jr., and the Prophetic Office." It was published in the March 1971 issue of *Courage* (Volume 1, No. 3, pp. 141-158). The award was presented at the spring meeting of the Mormon History Association in Independence on April 15. The MHA is an organization composed of professional historians and others interested in Mormon history. It includes people in the Utah and Reorganized churches as well as non-Mormons. "Mormon history" is interpreted broadly to include the history of the Utah and Reorganized churches as well as the smaller factions of the Latter-day Saint movement.

The runner-up position went to the article by Richard P. Howard in the June 1971 issue (Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 209-226) entitled, "Latter Day Saint Scripture and the Doctrine of Propositional Revelation."

A five-member committee is selected each year by the editors of *Courage* for the purpose of selecting the winner of the award for the best article on Mormon history. The committee consists of four members who are not on the Editorial Committee and the chairman of the committee who is selected from the Editorial Committee of *Courage*. Paul M. Edwards, professor of history at Graceland College and a member of the Editorial Committee, was chairman of the awards committee for the first annual award.

Editorial Committee

REVIEWS

The Priesthood Manual. *Revised edition prepared by Alfred H. Yale. (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1972, 317 pp., $4.95.)*

This book attempts to gather together a wide range of materials for the guidance of the Saints who hold priesthood offices. It includes theology, ethics, church law, liturgics, administrative guidance, homiletics, and organizational charts. It is aimed primarily at nonprofessional ministers—that is, those without formal education for their ministerial functions. At points it reminds one of a body of church law (Discipline, Manual), at others, of a home-study course for lay preachers. It is an internal communication, not aimed at an outsider such as I, for whom terms such as "temporalities," "appointee," "standing ministry," "Aaronic order," "administration to the sick," and "stake" need definition. At the same time it deals with problems common to most other Protestant denominations and points to a stage of development which in many respects is similar to that of other groups.

The theory of ministry is theocratic, hierarchical, and authoritarian. "The Church of Jesus Christ belongs first to Divinity and second to the people (p. 22)." That is theocratic. "It is therefore reasonable that our heavenly Father shall choose to represent him . . . the officers of his domain." That is hierarchical. "The call of men to the priesthood is made manifest through men holding the Melchisedec priesthood and in authority." That is authoritarian. The relationship of the priests of the church to believers in general receives scant and ambiguous treatment. "Priesthood leadership involves a principle sometimes described as the 'priesthood of the believer' " (p. 13). Is there a priesthood of all believers? It is not clear. Priesthood is a "channel of ministry," and it may or may not be indispensable (p. 13).

More about the hierarchy. In theory, at least in some passages, there are no differences in status between various levels of priests and those who are not priests. There are only divisions of labor. But "the Aaronic order is an appendage to the Melchisedec order" (p. 33), and within the Melchisedec order "the office of an elder is an appendage to the office of a high priest" (p. 34). The Aaronic order is a "lesser priesthood" (p. 52) with its own appendages of teacher and deacon. I conclude that the hierarchy works like this: On top are the Melchisedec priests (high priests, then elders). Next, under them, come the Aaronic priests (priests, teachers, then deacons). Then, but not quite in last place, as I understand it, are those men in the church who are in neither priesthood—mostly young boys and relatively inactive male adults. But in the last place are the women of all age groups, for whom the divine call to the priesthood apparently never comes, judging from the male pronouns throughout this book and from common report. No one applies for admission to this priestly ministry. One awaits the divine call, which is conveyed tangibly through the all-male priesthood. If one is a woman, I would gather, the waiting period may be very long.

The authoritarianism implicit in "government through priesthood" is mitigated by two factors: first, the position that legal authority is insufficient without moral authority arising out of the priest's knowledge, obedience to the gospel, humility, and skill, backed by spiritual authority from Christ whereby the priest deserves the support of the membership of the church; and second, a reciprocal role of the membership in acknowledging and bestowing authority on the priesthood. Priestly authority "is subject to the consent and support of the membership" (p. 26). But this consent of the governed "is not the principle of democratic action per se" (p. 80); rather, it is "the consent to be governed" (p. 81). This raises a serious question about those who do not thus consent to be governed. Who is in trouble, those who fail to give such consent or those who fail to receive it? The question is not clearly resolved in this book.

If it appears from the foregoing that the church is priest-ridden, it must be pointed out that these priests are in most cases what would be called laymen in other denominations. Only the "appointees" are set apart from secular or non-churchly occupations. If it were not for the exclusion of women, it could be said that the Saints have restored the New Testament doctrine that believers are "a royal priesthood" (I Peter 2:9). The Restoration principle itself should lead to the inclusion of women in the priesthood.

So much for the framework in which priesthood is placed. Within that framework the book attempts a number of highly commendable things. The functions of priesthood are seen as spiritual service to God and to people. "The basic task of the minister is to bring men to God and to represent Divinity in the conveyance of spiritual blessings" (p. 80). These spiritual goals are implemented by practical means. There are guidelines for ministerial ethics, for the conduct of worship (including "ordinances and sacraments"), for sermon preparation, for the handling of money, for planning and building church edifices, and for finding one's way amidst the denominational departments and agencies. The guidelines are practical and enlightened. They draw on common sense and spiritual insight. The guidelines for funerals, for instance, relate to common current practice but warn against both underemphasis and overemphasis on the body of the departed. Attempts are to be made to preserve the integrity of Christian burial vis-a-vis fraternal and military rites. The Christian service honors the departed and ministers to the living, and it does not end with the burial. Follow-up ministry is prescribed very briefly but with understanding of the grief process.

The section on worship is noteworthy in relationship to other Protestant groups. There has been a problem over the use of bulletins (which are still proscribed in some other circles, by the way). Ministers are urged to make creative adaptations of "the time-honored order of 'hymn-prayer-hymn-reading-offering-"special"-sermon-prayer.' " At this point historical perspective is a bit askew. The "time" which "honors" such an order is not very long—from the nineteenth century at most. The book does not point to one of the resources which has enabled many other Protestants to break out of such an order, which is not only "time-honored" but also "time-bound," namely, the historic liturgical developments of western and eastern Christendom. These were lost for a time to Protestants of the Enlightenment. They have not been recovered by the Saints.

The Saints are to be commended

for issuing this creative and spiritual guide to ministry. It is to be hoped that it will lead to further wrestling with the theological basis for ministry. I also predict once the standards for ministry set forth in this book are internalized by the ministers of the church, there will be a felt need for something akin to seminary training for the cultivation of the spiritual depth and practical skill which are needed by ministers of the gospel.

Carl Bangs
St. Paul School of Theology

* * *

Joseph Smith's New England Heritage: Influences of Grandfathers Solomon Mack and Asael Smith. *By Richard Lloyd Anderson. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1971, 227 pages, $4.95.)*

Dr. Richard L. Anderson, a professor of history and religion at Brigham Young University, appears to have had two objectives in writing his book, *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*. One objective was to show that the prophet's character and some of his fundamental ideas were inculcated by his grandparents, Solomon and Lydia Mack and Asael and Mary Duty Smith. It is always difficult to demonstrate how character and thought are developed and Dr. Anderson is not very successful in proving his point. This is partly due to the fact that he makes certain assumptions about Joseph's nature (not always clearly delineated) which could be challenged and for which he gives little support. While it may be impossible to convince the unbeliever that Joseph was honest, for example, and since the book is primarily of interest to Latter Day Saints, his assumptions may be justified.

Dr. Anderson has stressed personal honesty, courage, perseverance, patriotism, and affection for family as primary traits that were transmitted to Joseph II. Although he suggests a few contributions to the prophet's religious orientation, e.g. "Asael's independence and skepticism of orthodoxy evidently influenced his grandson more than a little" (p. 158), the author might have gone further, at least tentatively. Did Solomon Mack's belief in universalism, that all men would eventually be saved, give impetus to LDS doctrines of a heavenly prison house where ignorant sinners would be taught the gospel, of proxy baptisms for the dead, and the idea that "Eternal Punishment" may not be *endless* punishment? Such questions may not be answerable. The grandparents were not theologians and their writings are too brief to draw many conclusions. Still, there is room for a little more speculating in these areas than Dr. Anderson has permitted himself.

He has left the reader to speculate on the nature of the prophet's parents. Little reference is made to them; perhaps they are to be included in later writings (p. xii). They are assumed to be the link by which Joseph learned the virtues of his grandparents and the theory is plausible enough. Yet, plausibility is not demonstration and the author's methodology is weak at this point. We are not convinced that Joseph Smith I and Lucy Mack Smith shared the traits evidenced by their parents but must assume it as fact as we earlier had to assume Joseph II shared them.

The method of transmission would be a minor obstacle except that (1) Dr. Anderson admits "Joseph Smith's traits are found among New Englanders of his time" (p. 155); (2) Solomon, Asael, Joseph, *etc.*, exhibit complex and contradictory character traits; and (3) the author sometimes traffics in strange notions as when he states, "striking physical resemblances imply continuity of character" between generations (p. 155). It would be helpful to have a more precise definition of what characteristics Joseph inherited from whom and just how these were inherited. Also, it might not be improper to discuss what characteristics Joseph *didn't* get from his ancestors.

Dr. Anderson makes a start in this direction, perhaps unintentionally, when he indicates that Solomon and Asael were not mystics (p. 158) which raises the question of where Joseph acquired his propensity for mysticism.

All this casts doubt upon the assertion, "an objective and intimate picture is possible of the influences upon young Joseph Smith" (p. 1). We really don't know if that can be done or the extent to which it may be possible. However, Dr. Anderson has suggested some interesting hypotheses and has given some basic facts which may be blended with other theories and information to give a better picture than we now have.

The second objective of the book seems to be to defend Joseph Smith's character and religion from detractors who based their attacks on the presumably faulty character of Joseph's predecessors. Dr. Anderson meets the detractors head on and is generally successful in proving both sets of grandparents to be industrious, stable, conscientious, intelligent citizens of their communities.

To prove Joseph's birthright seems both anachronistic and logically unnecessary. Few today (among my contacts, anyway) place much stock in the "good stock" theory. The breeding and behavior of Joseph's grandparents or even parents really have little to do with the validity or invalidity of the Mormon religion. And Joseph might or might not be honest, true, brave, reverent, clean,etc., regardless of his forefathers. After all, every family has its skeletons in wardrobes, and the proof of the pudding is in the eating, as we anachronistically say. However, nineteenth-century arguments are still with us, and we humans are not always logical. Not all historians have as yet dismissed Isaac Woodbridge Riley's 1902 "psychoanalysis" of the Smiths. His attempt to account for Joseph's visions as inherited epileptic seizures seem puerile even without Anderson's almost conclusive evidence that there was no congenital epilepsy in Joseph's family (pp. 13, 14 and footnotes 38-41). Such myths deserve to die. Unfortunately, the book will probably give false support to the myth lurking in some minds that Joseph's lineage somehow insured his godliness.

Of more importance than the objectives mentioned above are the portraits that emerge of these New Englanders from Dr. Anderson's commentary and from the writings reproduced in the book. Their writings are not extensive although most of it has been reprinted here. Those of Solomon Mack fill about thirty small pages, those of Asael Smith but nine. Dr. Anderson quotes frequently from Lucy Mack Smith who apparently had access to a more complete account by Solomon, and he gives seven pages from Asael's brother, John, which are concerned with the subject. Most of the material is autobiographical; it rambles, it is not devoid of mundaneness, and there is not nearly enough to paint a full portrait of either man. Yet much of it is interesting and Dr. Anderson has used considerable ingenuity in interpreting it.

In addition, Dr. Anderson has utilized an impressive number of tax records, land records, letters, town documents, reminiscences, and local histories. He is a fine research historian and had traced his way through the maze of details with great skill. The casual reader may find himself lost, bored, or both at times, but the author had no alternative, it seems to me. For example, since he obviously could not rely solely on what the family said about the character of Solomon Mack, it was imperative that he trace the man from town to town, job to job and investigate his financial records and his public and private life in some minuteness. It was a difficult task but a convincing picture of Solomon Mack's "good citizenship" emerges.

These were admirable men in many ways and Dr. Anderson has made the most of their virtues. He must be faulted in his portraitures, however. The men appear somewhat flat, a little like the stereotype of LDS bishops: good family men, hard workers, pillars of the community. This element is present, perhaps even dominant, but when the men speak for themselves they reveal more than Dr. Anderson's portrayal of them. Two examples from Asael Smith's "will" to his children may illustrate the point.

The author has emphasized Asael's wisdom in his willingness to let his children follow their own natural bent in choosing a vocation: ". . . he advised simply that a vocation should follow one's abilities: 'Any honest calling will honor you if you honor that' " (p. 108). Unfortunately, the next sentence in Asael's will is not quoted in the text or commented on. It makes the grandfather more of a "Yankee" and more human, if somewhat less idealistic: "It is better to be a rich cobbler than a poor merchant; a rich farmer than a poor preacher" (p. 126).

Similarly, Dr. Anderson stresses that Asael was a man of great perseverance whose "main enemies had been 'discouragement and unbelief' in his own abilities. Yet Asael Smith met life's challenges with firm resolve and effective action" (p. 108). This is fair and largely true, but Asael was a tantalizingly quixotic man as may be seen by his own words:

> Persevere in the way of well-doing, and you may hope for success. For myself, I (who had never your parts nor helps)—I never found anything too hard for me in my calling but discouragement and unbelief. If I was discouraged and did not believe I could do a thing, I never could. Therefore, when you think anything is too hard for you, do not undertake it.—Page 127.

In summary, this is not a great book but it is honest and valuable. Its importance lies in Dr. Anderson's research which he has used to support his main theme that Joseph Smith's grandparents were worthy men and women, and in the collection of source material it makes available. It is doubtful if too much more will be discovered by researching the land and town records. If Dr. Anderson's interpretations of Solomon Mack and Asael Smith are somewhat hagiographic they are not untrue, and others are free to read and make their own evaluations.

A. R. Blair

The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina. *By Gerda Lerner. (New York: Schoken Books, 1971, 404 pp., $3.95.)*

Sarah and Angelina Grimké came from a wealthy and respected family in Charleston, South Carolina, unlikely source for the two pioneers of abolition and women's rights. Sarah was born on November 26, 1792: "The important experiences . . . that shaped her were not so much concerned with slavery as with her frustration as a girl in a world dominated by men" (p. 21). She received the genteel education suitable for a girl of her day and station but resented being denied the broad and challenging education and career opportunities her brothers had.

During her youth Sarah saw cruel and sadistic treatment of slaves and was bothered by the existence of mulattoes, living evidence that some slave owners—often of the best families—did not limit themselves to merely owning slaves. She vacillated between religion and social life as outlets for her frustrations, ultimately becoming a Quaker. Feeling completely alienated from the South and its, to her, terrible institution of slavery, she finally left quietly in 1821 and went to Philadelphia, where she happened to move into orthodox Quaker circles.

Angelina Grimké was born February 20, 1805, the youngest of the Grimké children. She grew up among adults. Self-assured and self-reliant, she did not feel oppressed because she was a girl. In fact, she usually displayed a "supreme indifference to the standards and values of others" (p. 67).

During her teens Angelina became aware of the inconsistencies of the Christian denominations with which she was familiar condoning the unchristian institution of chattel slavery. Consequently, she began leaning toward the Quakers, as her sister had done earlier. However, Angelina was a crusader, choosing to stay in South Carolina because she felt she could do more good by speaking out there against slavery. Yet finally Angelina, too, felt she must leave the South. In 1829 she went to Philadelphia and turned, like her sister, to religion and resignation.

For several years the sisters floated aimlessly, almost completely ignorant of their political environment. At the end of this period in their lives, Lerner describes them thus:

> Their religion sustained them in resignation and grief, but it seemed now that their search for a purpose had ended in failure. They had come North and found freedom from slavery, but no freedom for themselves. Their feelings were dead, their intellects stifled. It was a familiar story and it should have ended here. They had reached the limit of freedom their age permitted to women. They were spinsters, aged forty-three and thirty, alone, without training and occupation and purpose—by the standard of their day, their lives were over.—Pages 110-11.

However, the sense of usefulness and purpose which the sisters had sought came in 1834. Race riots broke out in Philadelphia, reawakening in them an interest in their surroundings. After reading an issue of William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*, Angelina, deeply moved, wrote him a letter, which Garrison took the liberty of printing without her permission. This letter, from a South Carolinian denouncing slavery, made a widespread impression. Under pressure from orthodox Quaker friends, Angelina refused to retract and found herself committed to a cause. Sarah hung back because of her orthodox Quaker background but only for a while.

The sisters had long experienced discontent with the orthodox Quakers. Sarah, possessing dormant feminist feelings, may have been partly attracted to them because they were the only sect which let women into the ministry. However, she continually felt thwarted in her efforts toward becoming a Quaker elder. She had come to Philadelphia in the midst of a factional struggle between the orthodox Quakers and Hicksite Quakers. Evidently Sarah did not care about the split; and because all of her friends were orthodox, she too was orthodox, although the Hicksites were closer to her in their opposition to slavery. The immediate result of the split was a distrustful, suspicious stance on the part of orthodox Quakers toward all who were not "birthright" Quakers, which included Sarah.

Gradually, the sisters' disillusionment grew. They witnessed racial prejudice when blacks had to sit apart from whites at church meetings. Amidst growing orthodox Quaker concern over the sisters' interest in anti-slavery work, Sarah followed Angelina's earlier lead and rejected the stricture placed upon her by the Quaker fathers: " 'I do not mean to submit to them. . . . I do not expect ever again to suffer myself to be trammelled as I have been. It is sinful in any human being to resign his or her conscience and free agency to any society or individual' " (p. 143). Sarah was well on her way to becoming a religious anarchist, a philosophy further developed throughout her life. Later, the feminist Angelina said about the Quaker view of women, "Quakers regarded woman, 'as equal to men on the ground of *spiritual gifts,* not on the broad ground of humanity. Women may *preach:* this is a gift; but woman must *not* take the discipline by which she herself is to be governed' " (p. 201). Although remaining deeply religious and entertaining some nineteenth-century notions of millennialism, the sisters came to avoid organized religion.

A series of events led to an invitation from the American Anti-Slavery Society of New York for Angelina to come there and speak to groups of women. In New York the sisters came under the influence of Theodore Weld, widely known abolitionist. Also, they proved successful enough in their parlor talks with women that they were invited to make a New England tour for the same purpose.

The North had not received abolitionists well. They had been mobbed, tarred and feathered, and ridiculed by the press. However, Angelina and Sarah drew large enough audiences in New England that, needing more space than home parlors provided, they moved into public buildings. One of the natural places for them to have meetings seemed to be the churches. However, women speaking publicly in the churches began to cause some consternation; but not until men started inviting themselves to the meetings did the sisters receive strong abuse. Ministers denounced them and urged the Pauline scriptures as the appropriate model for women. Some ministers refused the use of their churches for abolition meetings and the issue of free speech arose. Many of the churches, which for the past one hundred years or more had served as forums for open discussions, now became closed to the sisters.

Another reason for clergy apprehension concerned the sisters' emphasis upon immediate emancipation. The New England churches had long supported gradual emancipation and colonization of freed blacks someplace other than the United States, and they viewed immediate emancipation as devisive and dangerous.

Catherine Beecher, eldest daughter of the Reverend Lyman Beecher and sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, published an essay defending the Colonization Society. Angelina responded, opposing colonization as representing disgusting prejudice. She argued that since blacks were equal to whites, there was no need to ship them anywhere. The theme of northern racial prejudice ran throughout the Grimké sisters' talks. They condemned it as indirectly supporting the southern view of blacks and as accepting the institution of chattel slavery.

The sisters also brought the issue of women's rights into their abolition efforts. Censured because they were women who dared to speak in public, they began formulating a philosophy of women's rights. Answering Catherine Beecher's essay and her criticism of women for participating in petitioning, Angelina responded:

> The right of petition is the only political right that women have; why not let them exercise it whenever they are aggrieved?
>
> The fact that women are denied the right of voting for members of Congress, is but a poor reason why they should also be deprived of the right to petition. If their numbers are counted to swell the numbers of Representatives in our State and National Legislatures, the very least that can be done is to give them the right of petition in all cases whatsoever; . . . If not, they are mere slaves, known only through their masters. . . .
>
> Now, I believe it is woman's right to have a voice in all the laws and regulations by which she is to be governed, whether in Church or State; and that the present arrangements of society, on these points, are *a violation of human rights, a rank usurpation of power,* a violent seizure and confiscation of what is sacredly and inalienably hers. . . . If Ecclesiastical and Civil governments are ordained of God, *then* I contend that woman has just as much right to sit in solemn counsel in Conventions, Conferences, Associations and General assemblies, as man—just as much right to sit . . . in the Presidential Chair of the United States.—Pages 186-87.

Sarah, too, took up the cry for women's rights in her *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes.* She claimed that the Bible, upon which much sex discrimination was justified, revealed the influence of a patriarchal society; but she claimed that God had created women equal to men: " 'I ask no favors for my sex. . . . All I ask our brethren is, that they will take their feet from off our necks, and permit us to stand upright on that ground which God designed for us to occupy' " (p. 192).

Part of the sisters' strategy was to link women's rights and blacks' rights. They felt the abolition movement would become very powerful if women could participate in it freely and equally. However, some have credited them with helping to split the movement because of their emphasis upon women's rights. Weld, although an advocate of women's rights, discouraged them from uniting the two issues, calling it strategically unwise. John Greenleaf Whittier even chided them for putting the paltry issue of women's rights on the same plane as abolition. Yet they persisted.

Throughout their New England tour the press scoffed at and ridiculed them, calling them frustrated old maids, spinsters in search of husbands, and desperate women who wanted amalgamation so they could find mates, the implication being that no white men would want them. However, as their speaking tour reached a close, Theodore Weld and Angelina discovered they had long loved one another; a wedding soon followed.

Within a few years after the marriage the abolition movement split into the ultra-radical faction under Garrison and the orthodox faction under Stanton, Tappen, and Birney. The latter group advocated coalition and political action, ultimately excluding women from voting and participating in the upper levels of the movement. The Garrison faction eschewed political action and welcomed women as equals. The Welds and Sarah could not function effectively within either faction and withdrew from the movement.

However, the sisters maintained their interest in equal rights. At a national convention of women in 1863 Angelina proposed the following resolution:

> There can never be a true peace in this Republic until the civil and political rights of all citizens of African descent and all women are practically established (p. 353).

Angelina and Sarah had been influenced by some of the great nineteenth-century reformers. Their lectures and writings indicated dedicated efforts to extend to blacks and women the popular United States nineteenth-century concept of democracy which linked citizenship with suffrage. In their pioneering statements about women's rights they had anticipated the Seneca Falls Convention and much which was later discussed.

Gerda Lerner develops the biography well within the framework of nineteenth-century American reform movements. She obviously admires her subjects yet successfully depicts them as real people with human foibles—not faultless heroines or saints. They were often self-righteous in attitude. Sarah was continuously "resigning" herself to things. The passionate correspondence of Angelina and Theodore (both of feminist persuasion) is described with a hint of tender humor. Yet perhaps Lerner's portrait of the two as people with the usual amount of strengths and weaknesses, combined with her account of their struggle for equal rights, is what makes them interesting people to know and soul sisters to their twentieth-century counterparts.

Carolyn I. Raiser

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No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet. *By Fawn M. Brodie. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971, $8.95.)*

It is now twenty-seven years since Fawn McKay Brodie first published this biography of Joseph Smith. Mrs. Brodie was the niece of David O. McKay and had access to church archives denied to most researchers a generation ago. But when *No Man Knows My History* burst upon the scene in 1945, it shocked Mormons (Utah and Reorganized alike) and brought harsh rebuttals, yet it was well received by scholarly reviewers. She has since published widely acclaimed biographies of Thaddeus Stevens and Sir Richard Burton.

Perhaps typical of the reaction of Mormons was Hugh Nibley's long and hostile review titled *No Ma'am*

That's Not History (Bookcraft, 1946) and the comment by a Graceland College professor that "Joseph Smith said 'No man knows my history' and neither does Mrs. Brodie."

Even among the more scholarly Mormons, it has been popular to claim that while Mrs. Brodie uncovered much new information, her biases distorted her ability to put it all together—a view this reviewer tended to accept after first reading *No Man Knows My History* about eight years ago.

After re-reading the book, I am prepared to affirm that Mrs. Brodie's book was the best biography of Joseph Smith and the best history of early Mormonism and that it still is—a quarter of a century later—despite its detractors. *No Man Knows My History* has stood the test of time and richly deserves to be republished. Mrs. Brodie's critics have had twenty-seven years to write a better biography, and they have not done so. Mormon historians owe a great debt to Mrs. Brodie, one which it is time we acknowledged.

Mrs. Brodie indicates that Joseph Smith had many fine qualities, and she brings these out in her book. But the central heritage that has survived (among Mormons) is the legend about Smith, rather than his personal qualities. I would suggest that the reason we Latter-day Saints did not adequately appreciate Mrs. Brodie's book was that, having been raised on the legend, we let that image distort the picture of the man which she presents in the book. The hang-up was ours, not Mrs. Brodie's.

Fawn Brodie has a good feel for Joseph Smith and his situation. She is very fair, in my opinion. She avoids accepting uncritically the anti-Mormon propaganda which so many other accounts of Joseph Smith and Mormonism have done. She often evokes a real sympathy for Smith, producing admiration for the man.

Mrs. Brodie thinks the new research on Joseph Smith since 1945 tends to support her original position. Thus there are not many revisions in the second edition. Unfortunately the bibliography was not updated. There are some corrections made in this revision, but the only clear justification for calling it a second edition is the addition of an excellent twenty-one-page supplement, in which she discusses new findings concerning the "first vision" and the *Book of Abraham*, as well as some very interesting speculation on the Book of Mormon as reflecting Joseph's inner thoughts and family situation.

For those who have a copy of the first edition, it is probably not worth nine dollars to purchase this one in addition. But for those who have not yet purchased a copy of Mrs. Brodie's book, this new edition available with corrections as well as Mrs. Brodie's supplement is well worth having. *No Man Knows My History* continues to be required reading for beginning students of Mormon history.

William D. Russell

* * *

Mormonism's Negro Policy: Social and Historical Origins. *By Stephen G. Taggart. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970, reprinted 1972, 76 pp. $2.50.)*

Stephen Taggart's conclusion is simply stated and reflected in the title. The denial of priesthood to the Mormon Negro, hence the implication of inferior status, is couched in a *policy* of the Utah church, not in theological *doctrine*.

He writes: "This study's principle impact lies in the disclosure that Mormonism's Negro policy had its origins in social and historical circumstances rather than revelation." He adds that this conclusion "suggests that Mormonism's practices regarding Negroes should be viewed as a matter of policy rather than as points of doctrine." He even quotes from a Sterling McMurrin conversation with David O. McKay indicating that McKay personally held the Negroes' position to be a matter of policy not doctrine.

If this is true and if the other

evidence Taggart cites is accurate, then a change in the controversial position is possible. Taggart's argument, though, suggesting that this change would be difficult for today's Mormon, seems quite ironic: "While it would be quite simple for Mormonism to change its Negro policy from a doctrinal point of view, it remains difficult as a practical matter" because "today's church would find it difficult to avoid the appearance of capitulating to pressure."

The irony arises when one recalls Taggart's own social and historical analysis outlining the reasons for the Mormons' adoption of a pro-slavery, anti-Negro position in the first place—external pressure from the citizens of Jackson County, Missouri, who were afraid that the Mormons might bring free Negroes into Independence.

According to Taggart, there were three major sources of friction between the early Saints in Missouri and the "older" settlers of Jackson County: (1) a closed and different religious belief system, (2) an economic threat because of their numbers and land purchases, and (3) a fear of the Mormon's pro-abolitionist position made specific by the possibility of freed Negroes among Mormon converts settling in Jackson County.

Taggart's thesis suggests that the Mormons could do little to change their theological and economic views since their reasons for transplanting themselves to Missouri were couched in scriptural and religious imperatives. Their pro-abolitionist views, however, not primarily based in theology or ethics but simply a reflection of their "northern" cultural orientation, were not so rigidly imperative and therefore subject to change. He makes a convincing case for this thesis and offers evidence to suggest that not only did the Mormons move from a pro-abolitionist to a pro-slavery position due to external pressure but later, when some migrated to Utah, they were the first to introduce slavery into the western states—arriving with three slaves.

During July 1831 the first Mormon settlers arrived in Jackson County, Missouri. At that time the Saints were mostly pro-abolitionist. Conflict over the slavery issue began within the year. A concrete charge was made against the Saints by a Presbyterian preacher claiming that one of his slaves had been counseled by a Mormon elder that he had waited upon his master "long enough." Church leadership responded by promising not to stir up blacks.

About this time, however, Elijah Abel, a free Negro, was baptized. Since Missourians were trying to exclude free Negroes from settling there, the presence of a free Negro among the membership must have constituted a dangerous possibility. Neither Elijah nor any other Mormon Negro actually moved into Jackson County, but it is clear that the settlers there considered this a likely possibility. The Missouri Compromise had made it possible for "free Negroes of color" to settle in Missouri, provided they had the proper citizenship papers.

Three things occurred however, which increased suspicion of the old settlers on this issue. On December 25, 1832, Joseph Smith recorded his revelation prophesying a slave rebellion: "After many days, slaves shall rise up against their masters." Although this was not published until 1851, Taggart is convinced that it was circulated in manuscript form and that the old settlers knew its contents. Beyond this, however, an article appeared in *The Evening and Morning Star* that was apparently intended to warn Mormons who may have been moving to Missouri to be sure they understood the new Missouri law respecting free men of color. If they brought freed Negroes, they should be sure they had papers; otherwise it would cost them $500.00 per Negro. The old settlers construed this article as an indirect invitation for Mormon free Negroes to come to Missouri and precipitated, according to Taggart, "the first major acts of organized violence against the church." That same issue of the *Star* also contained another article, "The Elders Stationed in Zion to the Churches Abroad, in Love, Greeting," which, in addition to the above position, expressed cautious anti-slavery sentiment.

From this point on, the Saints' troubles in Missouri increased. Although they publicly stated that they were opposed to free Negroes entering the state, the older settlers apparently refused to believe them. An extra edition of the *Star*, published in response to the hostile reaction of the settlers to their free-people-of color article, attempted to placate the settlers. The edition, in the form of a handbill, stated in part: "Our intention [in publishing the original article] was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to this state, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the Church." Apparently not convinced, some settlers met four days later and issued an ultimatum that the Saints should shut down all of their workshops, their store, and their printing office, and agree to leave the county. The church leadership refused to comply. Subsequently, the printing office was demolished and several Saints, including Bishop Edward Partridge, were tarred and feathered.

It was now purely a matter of time, according to Taggart, until the pro-abolitionist position of the Mormons completely changed into a pro-slavery position, with the correlative theological development of the denial of priesthood to Negroes.

Taggart suggests that Joseph Smith's visit to Jackson County as part of the Zion's Camp relief party eleven months after the free-people-of-color episode must have convinced him of the explosiveness of the racial issue. Although Taggart cites no known period sources, excepting the *Book of Abraham*, he feels that adequate evidence can be mustered to support the contention that "the emergence of the practice of excluding Negroes from the priesthood appeared just after Joseph Smith returned to Kirtland." A certain Zebedee Coltrin, who was a member of the Zion's Camp band, claimed that he personally asked Joseph his position on the ordination of Negroes and that Joseph replied that "the Negro has no right nor cannot hold the Priesthood." Taggart discovered this information from the minutes of an 1879 meeting in Provo, Utah. John Taylor, who was to become Brigham Young's successor in 1880, was seeking clarification of the Negro question and asked Coltrin what the prophet had taught on the matter.

Although Taggart acknowledges that this evidence—recorded some 45 years after the fact—may be suspect, he nevertheless accepts it as generally true. In 1835, a year after the supposed encounter between Coltin and Joseph, the *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* was issued as the revision of the *Book of Commandments* and included a policy statement, not a revelation, suggesting that the church should not "interfere with bond-servants, neither preach the gospel to, nor baptize them contrary to the will and wish of their masters, nor to meddle with or influence them in the least. . . ." The statement, which is included as Section 112 of the RLDS edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, was read on August 17, 1835, by Oliver Cowdery to a general assembly of the church. Taggart interprets this as constituting church support for the legal institution of slavery and counts it as "the first official declaration of policy made by the church regarding Negroes. It gave the Saints in Missouri a formal credential which they could use to assure the old settlers of their pro-slavery colors."

In spite of this and other published statements indicating a shift in position regarding slavery, there apparently was no official policy concerning the exclusion of Negroes from priesthood. In 1836, Elijah Abel was ordained an elder, and, according to an 1847 letter, Walker Lewis, a black New York barber, was also ordained an elder. Unfortunately, the date of that ordination was not recorded. At the same time, if one is to believe reports citing three separate instances—all recorded several years after the fact—Joseph Smith was privately counseling priesthood members working in the South not to ordain Negroes at all and not even to baptize them without the consent of their masters.

All of this rather convincing data leads Taggart to the following conclusion: "Joseph Smith, concerned for the safety of the Southern membership, appears to have begun informally advising individuals in about

1834 not to ordain Negroes to the priesthood. He appears from all recorded instances to have advised only members who approached him on the subject and who were concerned with the Southern Church. As no supporting theology was initially invoked or developed, and in light of events subsequent to 1834, it appears that Joseph Smith probably began to advise Negro priesthood denial without envisioning the initiation of a doctrine or even a Church-wide policy. His initial action was a precautionary expedient."

At the very least, the Saints in general were becoming more disposed to favor slavery. But the progression does not stop there. If it did, one could assume that Joseph's counsel was primarily political and pragmatic, not doctrinal. Taggart, however, citing the April 1836 *Messenger* and *Advocate*, suggests that Joseph personally developed a "Mormon" version of Southern fundamentalism's curse-of-Canaan-theory as an argument to refute and restrain Mormon abolitionists who were challenging the church's emerging pro-slavery position.

This position seems to have become firmly established soon after the church was forced, due to the problems at Kirtland in 1837, to center in Missouri. Prior to this, the main social pressure seemed to emanate from missionary efforts to the southern states and the Saints embattled in Missouri. Now that the church itself was centered in Missouri, and later in Illinois among settlers largely coming from the South, the pressures became central rather than peripheral. Taggart summarizes: "The shift in the Church's center of gravity meant that the tone of normative Mormonism was now being set in Missouri—where the membership was directly exposed to the conflicts forcing the Church away from abolitionism—and no longer in Ohio, where the membership had been largely exempt from the slavery conflict."

The Book of Abraham, always suspect to members of the Reorganization, was published in two issues of *Times and Seasons* during March 1842. It provided the needed clinching theological argument for priesthood denial to Negroes.

There are two separate but related points, however, which enable Taggart to disclaim this book as having any doctrinal validity for Mormons. First, Joseph supposedly received the papyrus rolls from which the book was "translated" in July 1835. This was approximately one year following the account by Coltrin of a visit to Joseph to get counsel on ordaining Negroes. It now appears that the sections of this work extending the curse-of-Canaan motif and providing the basis for denial of priesthood to Negroes on theological grounds were actually written (translated) during the July-November 1835 period—the time when the church was having its greatest confrontation with the old Missouri settlers on the slavery issue.

Secondly, Taggart acknowledges that the authenticity of the *Book of Abraham* is now being seriously questioned by Mormon scholars (see Volume III, No. 3 of *Dialogue*, Autumn 1968 issue). The papyri supposedly used by Joseph in the translation have been translated and are definitely not the source for the purported scripture. Taggart's inference that there is now no clear theological proscription for Mormons to deny priesthood to Negroes seems hard, even for the most traditional of Mormons, to question or refute.

It is interesting to note that Joseph Smith, while a presidential candidate in 1844, made the following position statement as part of his campaign:

> Petition, also, ye goodly inhabitants of the slave states, your legislators to abolish slavery by the year 1850, or now, and save the abolitionist from reproach and ruin, infamy and shame.
>
> Pray Congress to pay every man a reasonable price for his slaves out of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of public lands and from the deduction of pay from the members of Congress.
>
> Break off the shackles from the poor black man, and hire him to labor like other human

> beings; for "an hour of virtuous liberty on earth is worth a whole eternity of bondage."

Had Joseph not died in 1844, Taggart speculates, he might have extricated the Mormon Church from its embarrassing present-day position.

The development of this doctrine, which Taggart clearly shows is couched in the expedience of public pressure, sometimes violent pressure, is all the more remarkable for another reason. It contradicts one of the basic principles of the Mormon belief system: an abandonment of the traditional concept of original sin and the development of "a strong commitment to the concept that men would be rewarded or punished for their own acts and not those of their predecessors." He observes that the acceptance of this doctrine of priesthood denial for Negroes has put considerable strain on the system but that it nevertheless has survived several attempts to reduce the strain. Orson Hyde, for one, in a speech in 1844 tried to suggest that Negroes were responsible for their own plight (not some vague curse) because they chose neutrality in the war in heaven. They have suffered for all of these years, said Hyde, because of their passiveness.

Before the RLDS reader begins to derive too much satisfaction from the above-mentioned contradictions and puzzlements among his Mormon cousins, several observations need to be made. Our forebears endured the same social pressures as those who emigrated to Utah. Can we assume that the events of those early years did not leave their racist imprint on us?

We claim no doctrinal discrimination against Negroes; therefore we are obviously free from the current embarrassment endured by many Mormons. But do we include significant numbers of blacks among our membership and our priesthood? Without the doctrinal "out," ought we not be more embarrassed because of our less official but more subtle and at least as effective discrimination against blacks? We have established missions to Africa and Haiti and have done some work within black communities in Chicago and East St. Louis, but we are primarily a white church. Can we say with certainty that this is more due to geographical accident and lack of proximity to blacks than an outright result of prejudice and discrimination?

Much more important to this discussion, I feel, are deeper sociological and ethical implications than the specific racial question reflected in Taggart's analysis. When confronted with an ethical imperative the early Saints chose an expeditious and pragmatic alternative; they denied an unpopular ethical position in an attempt to reduce conflict. The rationale for discarding this particular ethical position, as it turned out, even required considerable stretch and strain on a basic tenet of their belief system. But when the chips were down, the position was discarded and the burden of the strain was borne.

In short, an ethical social imperative was discarded in an attempt to salvage the existence of a rather distinctive and unique theological and economic imperative. Can we of the Reorganization claim to be immune from the charge that we, too, in our own peculiar ways during the last 112 years have also found it expedient and pragmatic to discard this and other ethical and social imperatives in attempts to salvage our own unique and distinctive theological claims?

It would appear that the price of unorthodoxy and "difference" in one area, say that of a distinctive belief system, is the compelling need to claim orthodoxy and conformity in another, say less personally costly area, such as a specific socioethical imperative.

According to Taggart, the early Saints paid that price and now have a doctrinally couched racist policy that universally denies priesthood to Negroes. Again, before we too easily condemn such apparent expediency, perhaps we ought to take a close look at our own heritage and see if there are not specific examples of how we, too, have paid that price—and at whose expense.

This review began with a reference to irony. I close with another. The early Saints, for all their haste to place expediency before ethics in an attempt to avoid conflict, did not significantly reduce that conflict. Their appeal to conformity on the racial question did not stop criticism. It did not stop persecution. It did not keep them from being driven from Missouri.

Suppose, however, that they had maintained a strong pro-abolitionist witness and allowed their unique belief system to support their stand. At the very least their problems could not have been much worse. But at the very best, such a stand in support of blacks might have created a different page in Missouri history for Mormons and a different resolution to the slave question than the tragic war that was soon to follow.

Dayle Bethel, in his article, "The Church Triumphant: A Case Study of Vietnam, the Tragedy that Need Not Have Been" (*Courage*, Vol. 1, No. 2), makes a similar speculation. He filters the church's relationship to the socioethical imperative of the Vietnam war through the clarifying focus of Restoration scripture—particularly Section 85:21, *Doctrine and Covenants*. If we had been mature enough, he suggests, to perceive the "distinctiveness" of our belief system as demanding a significant response to the challenge of this revelation to really understand "thing which are abroad," and if "200,000 alert, informed, responsible Latter Day Saints could have engaged in dynamic encounter at the very heart of the Zionizing, civilizing, humanizing work of God in history," it "would have made a difference."

But all of this is latter-day speculation. The early Saints did not make a stand with blacks. Our martyred heroes' voices have not been raised in condemnation of social and ethical injustices like racism and war. In our historical analysis and in our personal reflections on the journey of the Saints from Palmyra to the present, what else have we denied, ignored, condemned, in order to expeditiously and pragmatically maintain the "integrity" of our particular, unique, distinctive belief system?

Joseph H. Pearson

* * *

Jesus Christ, Superstar. *A rock opera by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice.*

According to *Time*, serious fans of *Jesus Christ, Superstar* "might well be advised to open a new chapter in the age of McLuhan by turning down a chance at the show 'because I loved the record.' "[1] The original recording has been metamorphosed into over twenty different productions ranging from Tom O'Horgan's Broadway superspectacular which was universally panned by critics to simple concert company versions which rely upon two dozen people, their mikes and amplifiers, a strobe light, and half a dozen slides. The rock opera has been repeatedly termed blasphemous, yet it is played in churches, reproduced on dittoes by pastor's secretaries, and presented by many local organizations including one group of nuns being sued by O'Horgan's business manager for breaking copyright laws. One thing it has not been called is insignificant.

Just what does lie behind *Superstar*'s phenomenal popularity (or notoriety, depending upon one's point of view)? The recording has four major points going for it. The first is musical—good hard rock. The second is psychological—an uncannily contemporary view of people's reaction to what they cannot understand. The last two are literary and religious—the expansion of the character of Judas from a cardboard villain to a sincere but misguided individual and the portrait of Christ as a thinking, feeling human being rather than a supernatural enigma. Enigma, though, is still there. Consideration of Christ as "just a man" does not explain him away. Rather it emphasizes his phenomenal, unexplained impact. That, in turn, raises the question of his mission and divinity.

"Christ as a God is there if you want it," says *Jesus Christ, Superstar*'s lyricist, Tim Rice.[2] Certainly Rice avoids creating a fictional character to fill in the gaps in the scriptural accounts. Christ's words are almost entirely straight from the four Gospels. The exceptions emphasize his human feelings of discouragement and futility in the face of misunderstanding and abuse by the very people he had come to help.

Rice's portrait of the human Jesus misses blasphemy for one all-important reason: God is love, and the Christ seen here is all the purer and more loving for his lack of supernatural advantages. That lack makes his sacrifice the greater gift. He begs God for just a glimpse of His omnipresent brain. Why can't the cup be taken from him? He flails against God's power over him as a result of their previous agreement.

Then I was inspired.
Now I'm sad and tired. . . .
Why should I die?
Would I be more noticed than I ever
was before?
Would the things I've said and done
matter any more? . . .
You're far too keen on where and how
and not so keen on why
Alright I'll die!
Just watch me die. . . .
God, thy will is hard
But you hold every card. . . .
Bleed me, beat me, kill me, take me
now—
Before I change my mind.

Yet in the end he does what God wants him to do. In a finale all the more convincing for its lack of angel choruses, Christ dies.

God forgive them—they don't know
what they're doing.
Who is my mother? Where is my mother?
My God, my God, why have you forgotten
me?
I am thirsty.
It is finished.
Father, into your hands I commend
my spirit.

The tension between the earthly and the heavenly in those lines is the crux of the religious insight offered by *Superstar*. "Why hast thou forsaken me?" has long stuck out from the pages of the Gospel as incongruous with the otherwise impeccable behavior of Christ preceding and during his crucifixion. The event is often so abstracted into cantatas and crucifixes that one almost wonders if the nails hurt Christ as much as they would hurt anyone else. The whole thing seems somehow unreal. But in *Jesus Christ, Superstar* you *know* that they hurt and that the sacrifice was awesome. That, of course, forces the question of why. Divinity obviously has everything to do with it whether Christ shares that divinity through Immaculate Conception or not. Rather than begging the question of divinity, then, *Superstar* forces it. The spectators (too detached a word) are forced to consider Love Incarnate with their hearts and their guts as well as their minds.

Christ's contemporaries, as well as most people since, completely miss the significance of what is going on. Pilate thinks Christ a misguided puppet. The populace think him a wonder-worker who can cure their physical ills or get Rome off their backs, and preferably both. When he fails to do either to their satisfaction, the people turn on him. Caiaphas and the high priests consider him dangerous politically.

I see bad things arising—the crowd
crown him King
Which the Romans would ban.
I see blood and destruction. . . .
Our elimination because of one man.

In the end, though, the "permanent solution" is left to Judas.

Though Christ is obviously the important figure in *Superstar*, in a literary sense it revolves around Judas. The four Gospels summarily dismiss Judas as the bad guy, history's greatest villain. He is what E. M. Forster calls a flat character. No one stops to wonder how or why he does the action which furthers the plot. But if he is entirely wicked, why does Christ choose him as an apostle and allow him to function in Christ's own name for three years? Or does he have no choice but to play a predetermined part as the fool of fate? Now *there's* a blasphemous question.

Tim Rice believes that "Judas was the most intelligent of the apostles and that is why he got into such a dilemma."[3] Judas, as seen in *Superstar*, sincerely believes in Jesus as the savior of Israel—politically. He shares this belief with Simon Peter, who tells Christ that he is easily as powerful as Rome and urges him to

Keep them yelling their devotion
But add a touch of hate at Rome.
You will rise to a greater power.
We will win ourselves a home.

But with Judas there is one important difference: he panics when he comes to believe that things are out of Jesus' control. He is then afraid for Jesus personally and warns him of the violent fury of the mob. But he is even more fearful of the wrath of the Roman legions, for it will descend upon the entire populace. His patriotic dream of political theocracy turns into a nightmare of genocide against his own people. His reaction is panic, anger, despair, and despising for the man who let such a glorious chance slip through his fingers. Yet he also still loves that man. The resulting ambivalence causes him to sell out to the status quo to prevent things from getting even worse.

It may be said that Judas protests too much, that he is incessant with his rationalizations and proclamations of his righteous motives. But he is under a severe strain which is compounded by a fear of eternal damnation and the fact that Jesus knows what he is up to and urges him on with it at the Last Supper. This puts Judas in a near frenzy of bewilderment. If Jesus knows and is urging him on, then perhaps he is using Judas to further his own ends and will, in the words of the play, "escape in the final reel." Judas does not know if he is making the right choice or even if he is making his own choice at all.

You want me to do it!
What if I just stayed here
And ruined your ambition?

In other words, what if Judas refuses to play his part in what he sees as either Jesus' or God's plan—but definitely not his?

After Judas' own death his voice returns to ask the lyricist's and the audience's own questions, questions that tacitly admit a divinity on the part of Christ.

Why'd you choose such a backward time
and such a strange land?
If you'd come today you would have
reached a whole nation.
Israel in 4 B.C. had no mass
communication. . . .
Did you mean to die like that? Was
that a mistake or
Did you know your messy death would
be a record-breaker. . . .
Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ,
Who are you? What have you
sacrificed?

Rice told *Saturday Review* that the play sees Christ through the eyes of Judas.[4] Indeed, he does move the plot and state the theme by voicing our questions. But who would trust anything seen through the eyes of the man whose very name has become synonymous with duplicity? Ultimately, we have to establish our own point of view, to ask our own questions and ponder our own answers. The beauty of *Superstar* is that it involves all of one's being and sensibilities in that effort.

1. "The Gold Rush to Golgotha," *Time* 98 (October 25, 1971), p. 66.
2. Jack Kroll, "Jesus Christ, Superstar," *Newsweek* 78 (October 25, 1971), p. 84.
3. "Jesus Christ, Superstar," *Life* 70 (May 28, 1971), p. 24.
4. Molly Haskell, "Jesus Christ, Superstar Enterprises, Inc.," *Saturday Review* (October 30, 1971), p. 66.

Carol Rosbury Rodwell

* * *

Eternal Man. *By Truman Madsen. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1966, 80 pp., $2.50.)*

Eternal Man, by Truman G. Madsen, gives scholarly, though noncritical, support to a fundamentalist Mormon concept of the nature of man which was first developed in the writings of Orson Pratt. The work originally appeared in the *Instructor* as a series of essays dealing with the spiritual pre-existence and eternal nature of men and women. The enthusiasm with which these essays were received encouraged the author to publish them in book form. The warmth of the reception doubtless stems in part from a paucity of philosophical literature dealing with Mormonism.

As Director of the Institute of Mormon Studies and Professor of Philosophy and Religion at Brigham

Young University, and holder of a doctorate from Harvard University, Dr. Madsen comes to his task well equipped to deal with the philosophical and theological implications of his subject. Sources of information are well documented, but the reader would have been helped if the author's statement in the preface that he had been "pushed . . . to original sources" had been carried out with respect to the teachings of the prophet Joseph Smith. All of his reference to the Prophet's views are taken from *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, compiled by Joseph Fielding Smith. Readers should have a copy of this work available if they are interested in original sources of the citations. Only one reference is from the Book of Mormon and two are from the Bible.

In the first chapter Dr. Madsen states that in their primal existence men and women are uncreated and indestructible intelligences. Later he adds that subhuman intelligences are also derived from uncreated prior realities. Freedom of the will is identified with primal intelligence and is not a special gift; it is inherent in men and women's beings. Freedom of choice was expressed in their voluntary decision to accept the conditions of incarnation as a means of obtaining an ascendancy over unembodied spirits. The existence of evil is accounted for by eternal limits to which God himself is subject. These limitations are said to parallel the "Given" in Brightman's finite God concept. While calling attention to similarities, the author neglects to point out the incompatibility of Brightman's monism with the Mormon solution to the problem of evil which is grounded in pluralism.

According to Dr. Madsen, man's maximum self-knowledge is obtained by penetrating the veil that separates temporal existence from the preexistent material state. Socrates is called upon for support of this epistemological position. Dr. Madsen must be aware that this turning of the soul's eye inward as the most certain method of obtaining knowledge is part of a formal educational philosophy which is incompatible with materialism and finds little support in modern educational philosophy. One gets the impression that Platonic Idealism is all right as long as it lends support to a Mormon theory of spiritual pre-existence.

Dr. Madsen brings together a great many references to support the view that there is no distinction between spirit and matter since spirit itself is substantive and is actually a refined form of matter. Mind, spirit, and body are all material in varying degrees of refinement and are of equal worth, though embodied spirits "have an ascendancy" over unembodied spirits. Instead of the material body being depraved, as sectarian theologians so often hold, the body is the product of righteousness, voluntarily chosen and entered into by people as the means of achieving a fullness of joy. Dr. Madsen has performed a useful service in calling attention to the spiritual realism which is explicit in the teachings of the prophet Joseph Smith. This teaching is clarified in Orson Pratt's *Absurdity of Materialism*. It may well be that materialism is the proper framework in which present-day LDS and RLDS reconstruction efforts should operate.

Eternal Man serves an institutional need and will doubtless take its place alongside Nelson's *Scientific Aspects of Mormonism*, the fragmentary writings of Chamberlain, and the works of Orson Pratt as philosophic reference points for Utah Mormon metaphysics. Writings of Sterling McMurrin should also be included in this group. While the book will help clarify the official Utah Mormon theological position, one is left with the feeling that the author's acceptance of early Mormon views has confined him to a pre-Einsteinian atomistic level of interpretation of Mormon materialism. There is still need for a Mormon scholar, either of LDS or RLDS background, to reinterpret Joseph Smith's teachings in the framework of modern materialism.

Garland E. Tickemyer

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The King Strang Story: A Vindication of James J. Strang, the Beaver Island Mormon King. *By Doyle C. Fitzpatrick. (Lansing, Michigan: National Heritage, 1970, 289 pp., $7.95.)*

James J. Strang, the man who attempted to succeed Joseph Smith as the Mormon prophet, has too often, according to the author, been unfairly judged. Gentiles spread vicious lies about Strang and his followers during his lifetime and although Strang was hauled into court several times to answer to various charges, he was never convicted. Yet the worst lies about Strang have been believed and passed on as fact by gentile writers anxious to create sensational articles that sell well. Perhaps any American would be harshly dealt with if he claimed to be able to miraculously translate ancient plates, receive direct revelations from God, if his community practiced polygamy and communism, and if he was literally crowned king. Mid-nineteenth-century Americans apparently could not tolerate such a unique "character." But historians and journalists ought to be able to treat Strang more fairly than did his contemporaries.

Doyle C. Fitzpatrick, though not a member of any of the Mormon sects, has published this book as a vindication of a man whose greatness he feels should be recognized. His motives are commendable. While this book has its serious weaknesses, it does help the reader see the injustices many writers have done to this unique figure in American history.

The first 114 pages contain Fitzpatrick's biography of Strang, including a pastiche of lengthy quotes—one nearly ten pages long. They are often important source materials but could well have been included in an appendix or simply offered as a collection of documents on the Strangites. (The sources provided by the quotations and long appendixes constitute the book's greatest value.)

There are three groups of appendixes to the book: a twenty-two-page synopsis of the five wives and fourteen children of Strang; a collection labelled "Miscellany," which includes Fitzpatrick's sketches of "Strangite impostures" (George J. Adams and John C. Bennett) and "Strangite defenders" (George Miller and Wingfield Watson); and a section containing Fitzpatrick's reviews of eleven publications about Strang. Although he often fails to give full bibliographical information about these published works, reading this section offers the reader a review of the literature on Strang, plus Fitzpatrick's corrections of the major errors made in these publications.

Despite the refreshingly sympathetic way Fitzpatrick views Strang, the book has serious flaws. "National Heritage" of Lansing, Michigan, is no doubt a publisher of Fitzpatrick's own creation for purposes of producing this book. Thus the book did not go through the editing process that it would receive from a regular publisher. That omission shows in the fact that the book obviously has not been carefully read by a professional editor or historian. For example, the book is not well written or well organized. The author has a clear enough outline—judged by the table of contents—but nevertheless he tends to wander and be redundant. An editor could have given this book valuable assistance simply by polishing the author's writing style. In addition, the book does not properly note its sources. It unnecessarily puts quotation marks around quotations set in small type. The names of publications are not italicized, and a parenthesis is used rather than brackets when inserting an editorial note into the middle of a quotation. The book contains three different subtitles: one on the title page, another on the binding, and a third on the dust jacket.

The book offers much information, but such flaws seriously detract from it and probably will insure that *The King Strang Story* will not be taken very seriously. Since the author went to the expense of using quality paper and binding, it is unfortunate that he did not have more help getting the manuscript in shape for the printer.

While Fitzpatrick has a detailed knowledge of Strang's life and of Beaver Island, he lacks understanding of Mormonism as a whole. He states that "most early Mormons were

Masons" (p. xx). Members of the Reorganized Church will be surprised to learn that they use a hyphen between "Latter" and "Day" (p. xxi). Utah members probably did not know that Brigham Young eliminated the Council of Twelve (p. 225). All Mormons will be surprised to learn that those who witnessed the plates of the Book of Mormon later repudiated their testimony. (p. 34).

Forty-two years ago Yale University published *The Kingdom of Saint James*, by Milo M. Quaife. It remains the best study of Strang. But for the Strang enthusiast Fitzpatrick's book is a profitable supplement.

William D. Russell

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Chariots of the Gods. *By Erich Von Daniken. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970, 189 pp., $5.95.)*

The author hopscotches us about the globe, pinpointing fascinating relics and improbable ruins which cannot, to date, be explained by reference to conventional theories of archaeology, history, and religion. His detail of Egyptian, Sumerian, Peruvian, and Mexican finds is especially noteworthy.

Von Daniken makes strong pleas for a Utopian archaeological year enlisting the aid of not only archaeologists but of physicists, chemists, geologists, and metallurgists to pool their efforts in concentrated endeavors to track down the real story of the finds.

The writer also makes the point of agreeing with some researchers who pan the C-14 dating method as an out-and-out bluff. The older a substance to be examined, the more unreliable the dating. He also maintains that items are carbon-dated and then a "convenient" culture is found to fit them into.

Here's absorbing reading for archaeology buffs and archaeologists and for perusers of history, travel, and science fiction. It's a fast-paced book with touches of dismay and humor, a book packed with unique ideas concerning the past, present, and future of mankind.

Jeri Ann Gracie

* * *

No Name in the Street. *By James Baldwin. (New York: Dial Press, 1972, 197 pp., $5.95.)*

Reading a James Baldwin essay at frequent intervals should be required of all Americans (he would object to the label as arrogant). For one reason, Baldwin's nonfiction prose style is excellent; he is still writing some of the best English prose being produced today. For another, his perception of the underlying malaise afflicting black and white Americans has been acute through four books of essays now, and he presents that perception forcefully and sincerely. He describes toward the end of *No Name in the Street* a new, dispassionate apocalypse of violence—"It is not necessary for a black man to hate a white man, or to have any feelings about him at all, in order to realize that he must kill him. Yes, we have come, or are coming to this, and there is no point in flinching before the prospect of this exceedingly cool species of fratricide—which prospect white people, after all, have brought on themselves." Yet Baldwin is not "cool." He is deeply saddened, grieved to the marrow of his bones that the black man and the white have thus far in this country been unable to exist as brothers.

His newest book of essays is divided into two sections. The first describes again his family relationships, life in the ghetto where babies are watched over even in the sleep of their protectors "because rats love the odor of newborn babies and are much, much bigger." He describes his relationship with Martin King and the impact of the man's death on him. He views the French-Algerian strife as another racial conflict and senses his brotherhood with these oppressed. His experiences with McCarthyism teach him contempt for most American liberals. He participates in the young civil rights movement in the South where he meets and works with "some of the noblest, most beautiful people a man can hope to meet." For example he spoke late at night in a Birmingham hotel room with Reverend Shuttlesworth, a marked man in Alabama, who "wrestled with the mighty fact that the danger in which he stood was as nothing compared to the spiritual horror which drove those who were trying to destroy him." New York born, Baldwin confronted southern racism for the first time in his life and saw in it an image of sick white America.

The second section of *No Name in the Street* gives Baldwin's impressions of Malcolm X, a gentle, loving human being, who was dedicated to working on the hearts and minds of blacks to show them the horror of their condition, not to preaching hatred of whites as many have thought. Baldwin illustrates at length the great difficulty for the unprotected poor of whatever color to receive justice in white America in the experience of his friend who suffered long imprisonment without trial and without help on the flimsiest of evidence against him and whose fate during the Attica prison riots was unknown to Baldwin at the end of the book. His final charge that "The world's present economic arrangements doom most of the world to misery" completes his bill of indictments against the white race in general and America in particular.

Baldwin's political analyses can be criticized severely as simplistic. Many of his observations can be faulted as repetition of earlier writings of his own and of other black spokesmen. Yet when his logic and his themes have been comfortably disposed of, his conclusions remain as intuitive leaps to the heart of the racial dilemma. If white Americans are honest with themselves, they know he sees clearly. We can only hope that a fund of goodwill and inspired action can be found to bring morality to race relationships at last and thus avert the holocaust of which Baldwin again prophesies.

Barbara Higdon

* * *

The Book of Mormon Speaks for Itself. *By Roy A. Cheville. (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1971, 203 pp., $4.25.)*

This 202-page, easily read book by Roy A. Cheville of the Reorganized Church is written for the thinking student of the Book of Mormon. This resource book contains questions at the end of each chapter which stimulate depth investigation of his concepts. Dr. Cheville has tried to take the pertinent theological and religious issues of the day (i.e. belief in God, importance of family life, unity, etc.) and has related them to the Book of Mormon record. In this effort he has included choice excerpts from the story and has given practical application in today's situation.

This book is directed to the questioning student and deals with some controversial points such as polygamy and the method of the translation of the Book of Mormon. His interpretation of the kind of people that make up the Book of Mormon story is exemplified by this excerpt: "The Book of Mormon has no Zion or heaven for quiescent Saints. Goodness is to be attractive and adventurous." He leaves some questions for the discerning mind; for example, he states: "The Book of Mormon does not say that everything that happens is of God's designing."

In my opinion, Mr. Cheville's strongest chapter (chapters are called Explorations) is Exploration III, "Man's Nature and Relationships."

Roy Cheville, the Presiding Patriarch of the Reorganized Church, has bypassed very well the arguments others have presented concerning the Book of Mormon, and has made some explorations into the real messages of this book.

Paul R. Cheesman
Brigham Young University

COMMENTS

SHUTE ARTICLE

To the Editors:

Evan Shute's article in the last issue of *Courage* was like a breath of fresh air. I literally jumped with joy as I read it . . . not because of his stand on any particular issue, but because he spoke out for what he believed in without double talk and without hedging. He meant what he said and he said what he meant. I thought I had "had" it with R.L.D.S. duplicity, but maybe there are enough Evan Shutes around to rescue a sinking ship.

You aren't the first to speak out, Evan Shute. Witness Christ's overturning of the tables and Joseph Smith's proclamation that God spoke to him and he would do this thing. It was dangerous to speak out against the establishment then and it's dangerous now. You'll be lucky if you don't get "silenced." As if a man who has something to say can be silenced!

I haven't heard anything so refreshing as Shute's stand since my father got in dutch for ordaining a black to the priesthood about 30 or 35 years ago. A delegation from on high arrived on the scene at once. Daddy had only one requirement for ordaining a man. That requirement was revelation. I doubt if he even noticed that the man was black until it was pointed out to him. He understood what revelation was because he had experience with it. He also honored the office of prophet. But he knew that some "revelations" were "devilations." He recognized that God worked with imperfect man. Why not? He worked with him. But he recognized only one as infallible authority—God himself. Yes, I'm glad to say he was a thorn in the side of many an appointee. He did what he believed in, and he believed in what he did. He believed in the Gospel with all his heart, and he preached what the gospel said to him. It wasn't always the same thing as his superiors told him to do, but it was always what God told him to do. I didn't necessarily agree with him, but that's the wonderful part. He didn't need my approval, or their approval. You can't stop a man like that. He has purpose and conviction. I believe you might be such a man, Evan Shute!

Courage is the greatest thing that has happened to this movement since it was founded.

Beatrice Sharp Scarborough
Ashdown, Arkansas

* * *

To the Editors:

In the Winter, 1972 issue of *Courage* I have been reading the two articles written by Sr. Bonnie Foster and Sr. Carolyn Raiser on "Authority in the Church."

I fully agree with the statements of Bonnie, but I cannot accept all of Carolyn's ideas. First, I have always believed that God was an unchangeable God; otherwise he would not be a God of justice. I have always believed that if there was a people on earth that was obedient to him and following his commandments he would communicate with them as he saw the necessity to direct in worship and actions. And so until God sees the necessity to change his order of administration, I shall continue to believe he called men to officiate in priesthood.

Let us go back to the day of creation. God created man, Adam. We are told as the animals passed before Adam to be named there was found no helpmate for him. And so in the course of time, Eve appeared on the scene, a helpmate, a companion for Adam. They served together as the caretakers of the garden. But it wasn't long until she got them both in trouble and God removed them from the garden.

Later, as they established their home and children came to bless that home, God saw fit to instruct Adam in the way of righteousness. The gospel was preached unto Adam by the voice of angels and also the voice of the Lord. And then, as he came to understand the will of the Lord, no doubt the priesthood was confirmed unto Adam by a holy ordinance (See Gen. 5:44-45 I.V.). From thence Adam began to preach the gospel to men. All through Bible history man has carried the responsibility of priesthood.

During the time of the Judges—there is a record of thirteen of them—one was a woman. The Judges were selected for office because of their spiritual influence or leadership. Deborah was selected as a Judge, but that does not indicate that she held the priesthood. The priesthood in those days was held by the tribe of Levi. Deborah was an Ephramite.

To me there are three great divine calls from God so far as individuals are concerned and with which we as members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ should be particularly concerned. I shall list them in one, two, three order but that is not designating one above the other.

First, the divine call of priesthood. This call affects especially the men. I can think of no place in the three standard books of the church wherein priesthood was ever conferred on women. I believe God had a reason for it. Of this I am quite sure, that the wife of a priesthood member also shares with him the burden of priesthood. No, the hands were not laid on her head as on his in ordination; but his ministry is more effective when she encourages and assists him in his call. Let us remember that the husband and wife are to be one, "Wherefore it is lawful that he should have one wife, and they twain shall be one flesh" (D. C. 49:3b). I have in my ministry, when a brother was to be ordained to priesthood, called his good wife up before the congregation with him and given to each a charge. She had as much at stake in his ordination and success of ministry as he. The unmarried priesthood member, generally speaking, cannot give the ministry he could if he had a devoted wife to assist and encourage him.

Secondly, the divine call to Motherhood. Here is a call that only women can fill. Yes, Carolyn, I agree with what you said, "Men have just as much potential for parenthood as women. The only difference is that women can bear children and men can't. Yet both are necessary for the creative process of conception." Correct, and every father should encourage and assist his companion in the rearing and educating of the children. He has just as much responsibility in the care, protection, and guidance as the wife, although she will naturally have a greater influence in the lives of her offspring than perhaps the husband. What greater call can woman hope for than to bring forth new life? To be a good mother calls for as great devotion, patience, wisdom, and love as any man needs in his priesthood ministry.

The third divine call affects both men and women. The apostle Paul speaks of it in his salutation to the Corinthians as "Called to Saints" (I Cor. 1:2). This call affects every soul who names the name of Jesus Christ. How many of us, as we made our covenant with our God in the waters of baptism, recognized that we were accepting a divine call of God to be one of his Saints? Is it just a name that we carry around with us because we joined the church?

I believe God called men to his holy priesthood, I believe he called women with a holy calling to perpetuate the race, and I believe that he called all of us with a holy calling to be Saints, to witness before all people and the world of his holiness, his love, his desire that all might enjoy the beauties of life and the world about us. Each in his place. Each fulfilling the task that is his to perform, not coveting something that is not ours to give.

I have seen men covet priesthood. Or if they held an office in the Aaronic, they coveted to be an elder in the Melchisedec. And the result? They lessened the ministry in the office they held. We must magnify the office we hold or the position we hold. The call to be a Saint has a tremendous outreach. Regardless of whether we hold priesthood or motherhood or not, all are called to be Saints of God.

In answer to the statement concerning Sec. 147:7, this statement was given as a result of considerable debate over representation at the World Conference and the seating of ex-officio members. It had become necessary to curtail the size of the conference. I do not believe we can truthfully use the wording of this paragraph to imply that we can change the doctrines to satisfy personal viewpoints. In our modern times it is sometimes necessary to change our approach to certain subjects to be able to speak intelligently, but we must not change the doctrine or the plan God has given to satisfy the wants and desires of men. When we do this, we are simply repeating what occurred in the early church and brought about the dark ages. Each member of the body has a particular job to do. All must work in unison or the whole suffers.

When we demand that women be ordained to priesthood or open the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to all comers or copy the method of its service as served by other churches or deny the authenticity of the Book of Mormon and accept a few other modern ideas that seem to be floating around, we are permitting a spirit that is not of God to invade our hearts; and that will only lead to confusion and eventually loss.

This letter may not find its way to the printed pages of *Courage*, for I am not gifted in the ability to express myself as perhaps expected by the editors of *Courage*. But nevertheless I have the courage to stand up for what I believe to be the way and the will of my God. I'm sure one or two will read it before it lands in the wastebasket.

William J. Murray
Yucaipa, California

To the Editors:

After reading Mr. Murray's response to the letters concerning women and priesthood (*Courage*, Winter 1972), I wish to reply. He first states that God is an unchangeable God; and since that God has never called women to the priesthood in the past, we must wait for him to tell us to call women. Then by Mr. Murray's definition God would become a changeable God, wouldn't he? In reality, God has never said that women cannot be called to the priesthood. What we are really doing is waiting for God to tell us to go ahead and do something we are already free to do.

Secondly, while not denying that God is perhaps unchangeable, we often lose track of the fact that people are changeable and that God has to work with people where they are. Some of the outstanding figures of the Old Testament, such as Abraham and Jacob, saw absolutely nothing wrong with having more than one wife, taking their wives' servant girls to bear children, or having concubines (I.V. Gen. 16:1-16; 25:6; 30:16-31:24). Yet there is no indication that they were aware they were sinning in God's sight. They felt God called them and used them; and they felt that they were obedient to God's commandments, insofar as they understood them. Today many would call them sinful—a judgment with which they in their time would not have agreed—and refuse to let them into the church.

Such a stand denies that God must work with people within their cultural context. That cultural context has been patriarchal in nature, and people have not seen fit to let women be more than wives and mothers. To expect God to force such a change upon them would mean that God denies free agency. People cannot be expected to do what their culture forbids them from doing. For example, Paul saw through a glass dimly some of the equalitarian nature of the Christly message when he observed that all are alike unto God, male and female (I.V. Gal. 3:28). Yet Paul was still victim enough of his culture to utter his pronouncements upon women which many seize upon to justify excluding women from prominent positions in church life. However, this same Paul acknowledged the prominent position played by women in many of the congregations he was familiar with and sent special regards concerning Phoebe (Romans 16:1-15). Paul glimpsed that all were indeed alike unto God, but his culture prevented him from fully acting out that realization.

Mr. Murray also cites the Genesis account of creation. There are two accounts. The one Mr. Murray does not cite, the first one in the Inspired Version, indicates that God created male and female in the godly image, that woman was not an after-thought (Gen. 1:27-30). Another contradiction in the scriptures. Is God changeable, or are people constantly growing and struggling with what the godly message is for them?

Mr. Murray refers to the Fall as the woman's fault. Then to her should go the credit, not Adam (See I.V. Gen. 4:9-12).

Further, Mr. Murray suggests that women participate in the priesthood through their husbands. What if a woman is not married, her husband is not in the priesthood, or her husband is dead? How is she supposed to vicariously participate in the priesthood then?

He also talks about the divine call to motherhood, suggesting that is a calling only women can fill. I disagree. Women can bear children, but that doesn't make them mothers; that makes them bearers of children. Some men may be better mothers, providing nurture, love, care, teachings, and so on, than some women. Not every woman is a mother just as not every man is a father. What is her calling then? Why should the major occupation or calling of a woman be that of mother when we wouldn't think of limiting men as a category to one major occupation, say that of father. Even in priesthood we recognize the diversity of talents people possess by assigning different functions to different offices. Yet when it comes to women, how quickly we assume that their one great and only calling is to be wife and mother! I say that is a cultural influence upon Christian doctrine, not a god-given finality. I believe God is eager for us to grow "line upon line, precept upon precept," to understand the equalitarian message of the gospel so that people will not be limited by sex to just one function and will be able to understand that women can serve through priesthood just as well as men.

Surely, if woman's high and holy calling is to perpetuate the race, that is also man's calling, since the race can't be perpetuated without both. Yet men also have priesthood through which they may serve; but for some mysterious reason, women don't.

Even if I were to accept the proposition that all women's callings are to be mothers, which I can't, logic still insists that women would more than ever belong in the priesthood. Who else than women who work in the home know more about down-to-earth family ministry and teaching? Who else would have a better right, by virtue of the lives they lead, to be called to the offices of priest and teacher and high priest than those who spend most of their time laboring with the family, teaching the family, and administering the affairs of the family? Surely these people need the power and insight of God's Spirit as revealed through priesthood to fulfill their function better and labor more effectively and lovingly. Yet we have the gall to say that only men can be called to minister in those offices which directly affect the home, the very area we insist is the woman's realm and about which she is supposed to know more than men.

I object to people inferring that it is not the Spirit of God which motivates me to point out discrimination and injustice when and where I find it. I testify that the Spirit of God literally burns within me until I must cry out against what people do to other people in the name of Christianity. The very message of the Restoration is that while God may not change, people and their understandings of that God do change. Consequently God can reveal new insights to people which they have not been capable of grasping before because their culture has not permitted them to do so. At last our culture is beginning to recognize how insidiously sex discrimination has been a part of it. Now God can work with us to overcome that fetter.

Mr. Murray's letter also fails to acknowledge that a woman has been called in the church; the precedent is set:

> And thou [Emma Smith] shalt be ordained under his hand to expound Scriptures and to exhort the church, according as it shall be given thee by my Spirit; for he shall lay his hands upon thee, and thou shalt receive the Holy Ghost, and thy time shall be given to writing, and to learning much (D.&C. 24:2c).

Granted Emma may not have been ordained to a specific office. Perhaps Joseph was afraid to take the final step. However, the use of the word *ordained* clearly indicates that she was endowed—through the laying on of hands as in regular ordinations—with ministerial authority from God. She was ordained to expound and exhort, which are the functions elders, priests, teachers, and deacons perform as delineated through scripture.

Carolyn Raiser

EQUAL ANIMALS

To the Editors:

Just a note in response to "All Animals Are Equal . . ." by Carolyn Raiser (*Courage*—Spring 1972). I doubt that this bit of information will help the cause of equality for women; but in fairness to the Alabama District Conference of 1970, I must inform you that I was elected as a delegate to the 1970 World Conference. When I was unable to attend, I was replaced by an alternate male delegate.

I am very much in favor of equality for all—women included; and I would gladly trade a sink full of dirty dishes for a pulpit any day, but please, let's not call God *It!*

Betty Jean Thielke
Ft. Mitchell, Kentucky

EVANGELISM

To the Editors:

The following is in response to Alan D. Tyree's letter (Spring 1972, p. 464) criticizing my article, "Evangelism and Indigenous Culture" (Winter 1972, pp. 369-376).

In general, I agree that it was wrong to publish statements based on hearsay information that impugn the character and integrity of others. But when reliable information is intentionally withheld from those who have a right to know, when the withheld information concerns vital matters that are important to people generally, and when this withholding of information permits the continuation of serious abuses, then the matter should be discussed on the basis of the best information available, hearsay or otherwise. If errors in fact and misinformation about individuals result, the primary responsibility rests with those who actively suppress the reliable information.

Church officials do actively withhold information about sexual morality and church policy in Tahiti from the membership of the church. This withholding does permit the continued violation of church member rights in Tahiti. The matter is so serious that every church member should have an interest in correcting the situation. In other words, the matter should be discussed on the basis of the best information available. That is what I have done. If my information was weak, primary responsibility rests with those who actively suppress more reliable information. Apostle Tyree, who took the initiative in criticizing my discussion, happens to be one of those involved in such suppression. I will be happy to provide detailed substantiation of the above points to anyone who is interested.

I would add that the thesis of my article probably could have been effectively developed by referring to the situation in Tahiti in more general terms. The result would have been less offensive to individuals. The general statements would not have had the tendency to be unfair and unjust to specific individuals. I freely apologize for not adopting the more considerate approach.

Vern Elefson
River Falls, Wisconsin 54022

CLOSED COMMUNION

I don't remember just when or where it was, but I once heard someone talk about "snatching defeat from the jaws of victory." After reading the editorial committee's statement on open communion in the September *Courage*, I am convinced that the expression must have been created to apply to RLDS liberals. I mean the editor has the insight to know that open communion is a subject which the church can now debate openly. He prints a very perceptive article by Grant McMurray which clarifies the issues involved. Then he blows the whole thing by including an editorial which blurs the issues to make the discussion into another harangue between the "liberals" and the "conservatives" (the church's counterparts to the Hatfields and McCoys). I wish to make two points: one theological and the other sociological.

Theologically, it would appear to me that open communion can be defended on grounds which are central to the RLDS tradition. Grant McMurray gets at that when he speaks of reconciling our sacramental theology with our understanding of the nature of the church and (I would add) its authority. The question is where the efficacy of the communion is grounded. Those who argue for closed communion are ultimately forced to a position which places the efficacy in the elements themselves. Thus, the elements take on a sanctity of their own which is profaned when partaken of by a nonmember.

This, I would argue, is contrary to the traditional RLDS understanding of the sacrament in which the efficacy is found in the authority of the church embodied by the priesthood who serve the emblems. Beyond that, the one receiving the emblems is not to partake "unworthily." While some would argue that this means nonmembership in the RLDS church, it would seem to take quite a bit of "exegetical stretch" to equate "nonmember" with "unworthy." In short, if the efficacy of the communion is seen in terms of the authority of the church to administer the emblems and not in the emblems themselves, open communion is quite consistent with our own sacramental theology, even though some (maybe most) would argue that the communion has no efficacy for nonmembers. That is another issue, however.

I am somewhat surprised that the editorial committee doesn't have the insight or experience to know that the RLDS church cannot accept change when that change is justified solely on "liberal" grounds. The problem is that the editorial committee's statement, in fact, calls for two changes. It calls first of all for a change in procedure from closed communion to open communion. There is also a call for another change which is somewhat more implicit. That change involves a theological reorientation in relation to the concept of authority. The editorial, then, is not simply calling for a change in policy. It calls for a change in theological orientation which will bring about a procedural change. The result is that the two issues are tied together in an unnecessary way. One must not only assent to open communion; one must also buy the theological framework in which the proposal is presented. As I have tried to show, this need not be the case.

The sociological point, then, is this: an organization can accept procedural change most readily when that change is seen as consistent with the values of that organization. Those who favor open communion have two basic options: (1) they can convince the church that open communion is more consistent with the dominant theological orientation of the church than is closed communion, or (2) they can wait until the church turns liberal. The editorial committee's statement is clearly in line with the second option. I hope they have a nice wait.

A. Bruce Lindgren
E. Lansing, Michigan

* * *

To the Editors:

It is difficult for me to believe that any thinking person does not recognize (although he may not admit) that a mistake was made in the church's dealings with the Sora Tribe. The *Courage* articles by Verne Deskin (December 1970, p. 89) and Vern Elefson (Winter 1972, p. 369), presented very forcefully the arguments against the church's policy in India. I could add very little, if anything, to these theological arguments. I might point out, however, that the church's actions in India are unsound from the political and psychological standpoints.

Politically speaking, it is unsound for any organization to make exceptions to policies or standards in dealing with any individual or group of individuals. It is certainly unethical for the leaders of a "democratic" organization to cheapen that organization by lowering its long-standing requirements for membership without the consent of the members. The Reorganized Church's stand against polygamy has been prominent and unwavering for over 100 years. Now, because of an administrative decision, the church finds itself in a position where its administrative arm has assumed the prerogative of deciding the conditions under which certain people within the organization can engage in practices which are grounds for expulsion for all other peoples within that same organization. This is tantamount to papal tyranny.

Psychologically speaking, the Sora Tribe situation is impossible. What exists in India is a situation where a particular practice is looked upon with tolerance while, at the same time, that practice is denounced as evil. Admittedly, the denunciation is not harsh (how could it be?). The teaching against polygamy in India under these conditions cannot be effective. The younger generation simply will not understand, and they cannot be expected to respond to their elders who preach "Do as I say and not as I do." On the other hand, how can those people expect us to be less tolerant and loving toward the younger generation than we were toward the older generation? There is no substitute for consistency where group psychology is concerned.

Instead of holding church membership as an incentive for these people to work toward an equitable solution to the polygamy problem, the church has opened its arms to the polygamists. It will not now be possible to have any control over the situation. These people have not been required to "repent" of this practice; therefore, to be consistent, the church must continue to open its arms to such people. What is the policy in the situation where a monogamous person is baptized and later is found to have taken plural wives? If this situation hasn't already occurred, it most certainly will.

Why can't those in the top quorums at least admit to poor judgment in what has been done? To be a "world church" means to be valiant in proselyting the pure gospel of Christ to the world. A church which modifies the gospel of Christ to fit the various cultures of the world is not a "world church" but a "worldly church."

Harold Hawley
Mountain View, California

L.D.S. HERITAGE

To the Editors:

Several of your respondents have referred to half-told L.D.S. history, and others have urged historical authors to be more outspokenly honest in their analyses. Among other things, we are impelled to wonder just what Emma Smith may have known about her husband Joseph when she went with her son to Amboy.[1] Complicating this historical murkiness, investigators have reported that some historical material is denied them; and at least one of these has wondered why the church is afraid to tell us who we are.[2] Serious questions challenge our most visible distinctives, such as the *Book of Mormon*[3]

Against this background I should like to explore further recent assertions by Richard Howard in an article which points to difficulties in the usually accepted view that our scriptures were given by propositional revelation, which is "divine revealment of certain knowledge or information about God and the church, usually in the form of certain propositions or doctrines."[4] Howard, it seems to me, has here and in *Restoration Scriptures* raised significant questions regarding propositional revelation both as being given in the very words of God or as certain concepts expressed in one of several possible ways, Clare Vlahos' objection notwithstanding.[5] The claim that by the power of God Joseph Smith was able to intuit the specific history of early American civilization resulting in the *Book of Mormon* does not make logical sense to me when I contrast it with my understanding of the coming forth of the Bible, especially as that understanding is enriched by biblical scholarship undeveloped in Joseph's day. Incidentally, the origin of most of the *Doctrine and Covenants* seems to be more consistent with my understanding of the scriptures emerging as people encounter the divine Spirit, although special revelatory prerogative being given to a few members of one family seems problematical.

Much of our gospel and stance toward others turns on our concept of revelation. As we now know, the Bible emerged as remembered oral and written tradition and stands for or points to the experience a person or a community had with God which was interpreted by the writer who lived in a particular time and culture, using the language which the author hoped would most fully convey that experience. Scriptures cannot be equated with the revelatory experience itself; or to put it another way, the scripture is not the actual encounter. Rather these testimonies are composed of symbols and images; "but man sees through a glass darkly and the deepest meaning of heart and spirit elude our words and cherished myths."[6] Some of the Bible is not considered exact history or biography; but even if it all were—as some believe—we miss the point. In *The Theological Enterprise* Verne Sparkes uses an illustration which may illuminate further, for historical facts are not the same as living experience. How inadequate it would be if each of us were to be explained by the dates of our birth and descriptions of the major events in our lives! The richness and vitality of our lives cannot be fully apprehended even by those who know us well.

I suggest that we must submit our ideas of revelation and our scriptures to the scrutiny of our best scholarship. Because we have not yet, we adopt the most introverted and self-righteous positions. We are the one true church, restoring exactly the forms Christ supposedly instituted. Lord take pity on those of the past and present who have not heard or accepted our peculiar message. We bend logic in an attempt to prove our view both to ourselves and others. Ignoring a rich religious heritage reaching back centuries, we also are blinded to the depth of God's involvement in other cultures and in secular art forms of our own. What egocentric complacency! When confronted with criticism, we counter that it's not true or that if it is we must give up the church, or else we rationalize that it doesn't make any difference. It does. Having delayed too long, we must "refine our sense of history and sustain our integrity" by seeking interpretations of our past and scriptures "which will be compatible with our most responsible perceptions of our mission as the Body of Christ in the 1970's."[7] Hopefully ours is not a fragile faith, easily shattered by straightforward examination of and candor in proclaiming who we are. In the past I naively wished that we might avoid this restructuring of our foundations and my own deep inheritance. However, now I am convinced that only by confronting problems in our tradition with courage and a clear eye will we penetrate beyond a superficial concern with seemingly exact words or objective facts to the vital reality underneath.

Our testimony should be as that of the disciples who knew Christ: our lives are quickened by the risen Lord's presence in the quality of our fellowship together. Unless our community burns brilliantly with this spirit, it matters little what distinctives we claim for our institution or scriptures. Let us be consumed by the luminous spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood from which new people and social forms will be created and about which contemporary scripture will be written.

Susan Withee Kisslinger
Madison, Wisconsin

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1. Richard B. Lancaster, "Misplaced Faith," *Courage*, II (Spring, 1972), 463-64.
2. Paul M. Edwards, "Why Am I Afraid to Tell You Who I Am?" *Courage*, I (June, 1971), 241-46.
3. Wayne Ham, "Problems in Interpreting the *Book of Mormon* as History," *Courage*, I (September, 1970), 15-22.
4. Richard P. Howard, "Latter Day Saints Scriptures and the Doctrine of Propositional Revelation," *Courage*, I (June, 1971), 209-25. Quotation taken from p. 209.
5. Clare D. Vlahos, "A Question of Methodology," *Courage*, II (Spring, 1972), 464-66.
6. Lancaster, p. 463.
7. Richard P. Howard in a letter, *Courage*, I (March, 1971), 197.

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William Smith's Acknowledgment of James J. Strang's Claims

After the assassination of Joseph Smith in 1844, there was a time in which his younger brother William and others of the Smith family accepted the claims of James J. Strang to be the true successor to Joseph Smith. The following letter from William Smith, dated March 1, 1846, was published in the July 1846 issue of Strang's paper, the Voree Herald (Volume I, Number 7). By the fall of 1847 William Smith had been excommunicated from Strang's church. Over half a century later, Katherine Salisbury, disputing the authenticity of some of the signatures affixed to William Smith's letter, wrote a letter appearing in The Saints' Herald, Vol. 46, No. 17, April 26, 1899.

An Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

To Mr. James J. Strang
First President of the Church.

I have since I returned to Nauvoo last for the first time been apprised of an appointment made by Joseph Smith to James J. Strang. On hearing this, I took pains to gather all the evidence that could be adduced to see if there was any foundation at all for the claims of Mr. Strang.

I called in to see sister Emma, to enquire concerning the appointment. Sister Emma says that Joseph received a letter from Mr. Strang—Hyrum was present and he called in brother J. P. Green; at first Joseph thought all was not right, but Hyrum thought otherwise. They talked over matters a while and came to the conclusion that Joseph would write a letter; so Joseph and brother Green went out for that purpose.

Emma also states that her son Joseph saw a woman come into a room at Far West Mo. and told him this church would go to Voree; the boy was only eight years old—Joseph his father was in jail at the time—the boy remembers the vision &e. Joseph before he was martyred, when on his way from the temple hill home, saw a vision, and his mother recollects that when he came home, he put his hands upon his eyes and prayed that the vision might pass, and that he stated he heard as it were music in the Heavens, but the notes were low and sad as though they sounded the requim of martyred prophets.

I remember myself that Joseph said: "My work is almost done, I feel that I shall rule a mighty host, but not in this world, the wolves are on the scent &e." Joseph bid his wife and mother farewell saying, I am going as a lamb to the slaughter: this was his impression. And I further state that Joseph did not appoint the twelve as his successor, and I was in the last council with him, and had an opportunity of knowing and hearing his sentiments in regard to these things.

I also heard Joseph say, that should the time ever come that Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball would lead this church, that they would lead it to hell. This was said in the hearing of sister Emma Smith.—The whole Smith family of the Joseph stock join in sustaining J. J. Strang.

It is to be remembered that soon after Joseph and Hyrum's death, brother Green died, and he was heard by numerous individuals to say, that Joseph had appointed Strang.

WILLIAM SMITH

This is to certify that the Smith family do believe in the appointment to J. J. Strang

WILLIAM SMITH, Patriarch
LUCY SMITH, Mother in Israel
ARTHUR R. MILLIKEN
NANCY MILLIKEN
W. J. SALISBURY
CATHERINE SALISBURY
SOPHRONIA Mc LERIE

Nauvoo, March 1st, 1846

Testimony of Katharine Salisbury

Fountain Green, Ill., March 26.

Editors Herald:—I feel to write a few lines by way of explanation. In January I received a letter from Elder Lewis, of Michigan, and later one from Elder Sheen, of Independence, Missouri; also one from Elder Lambert, of Rock Creek, Illinois, asking for an explanation concerning my name being signed to a document or certificate in support of J. J. Strang being leader of the church; such certificate being found in the Strangite pamphlet, a thing I never heard of in my life until I received the letter from Elder Lewis.

I now in truth declare that I never signed my name to such certificate or document; neither did I give my consent for anyone to sign it. I never knew anything about Strang or his work, nor heard of him for several years after I left Nauvoo.

I do not believe that my mother, Lucy Smith, or my sister, Lucy Millikin and Sophronia McClerrie, signed any such certificate.

As for my husband, I *know* he looked forward to Joseph Smith taking his father's place. We based our strong reasons on my mother's teaching, as she was known to her Grandson's calling. We all waited patiently for him to take his place.

It is preposterous to think that Emma Smith, wife of my brother Joseph, would sign such certificate, when she knew of her son's blessing in Liberty Jail, and knew beyond a doubt that he would fill his father's place in God's own due time. Such was her testimony all the way through.

So I say the whole thing was a forgery. Whoever the perpetrator was, his acts will surely be revealed sometime, as justice will prevail.

I expect to meet this testimony before the judgment bar of God.

With good will to all, I remain,
Your sister in Christ,
Katharine Salisbury.

Immorality in Boston

Recent discussions relating to law and order, pornography, etc., should render the following discussion of immorality in Boston of interest to Courage readers. This document comes from James J. Strang's Gospel Herald (Vol. IV, No. 10, May 24, 1849).

GROWING IMMORALITY OF BOSTON.—The criminal statistics of Boston have just been published. It appears, the increase of crime in the municipal court over last year is 200 per cent., in the police court, 27 per cent; for attempts to kill, 1700 per cent; complaints for capital offenses, 266 per cent; burglary 250 per cent. In addition to this alarming increase, the report discloses other grievous evils. Some of the police officers state, that within the last year, a large number of *women go armed with dirk knives* and other dangerous weapons. Young boys are frequently taken with six or four barrelled revolvers in their pockets. Numbers of young men apparently respectable, when found engaged in their dissipations, are armed with dirks, pistols and knives. The watchmen and police are frequently threatened by weapons pointed at them, when they are attempting to preserve order. Houses of ill-fame are increasing at a wonderful rate.

This talks loud for the capitol of the State whose "people are famous for the liberality with which they support literary, humane and religious institutions," and whose "colleges and high schools are more numerous and better endowed by private munificence than those of any other State." What is the matter? Ah, your literature is demoralizing in its tendency, and your religion corrupting in its influence. If it were not so, would crime, misery and debauchery increase most rapidly where such institutions are most numerous?

[unsigned comment; Strang's name the only one on masthead of this issue]

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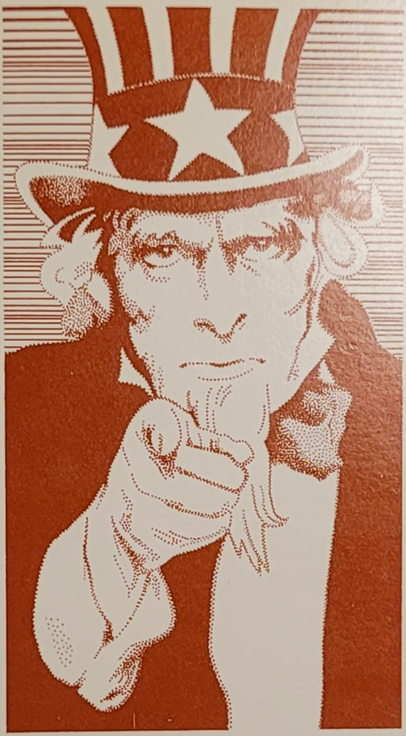

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